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THE AMERICAN VIEW

OF THE WEST

BY WILLIAM DILLON

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY

CHARLES H. STANTON

NEW YORK

CHARLES H. STANTON

1880

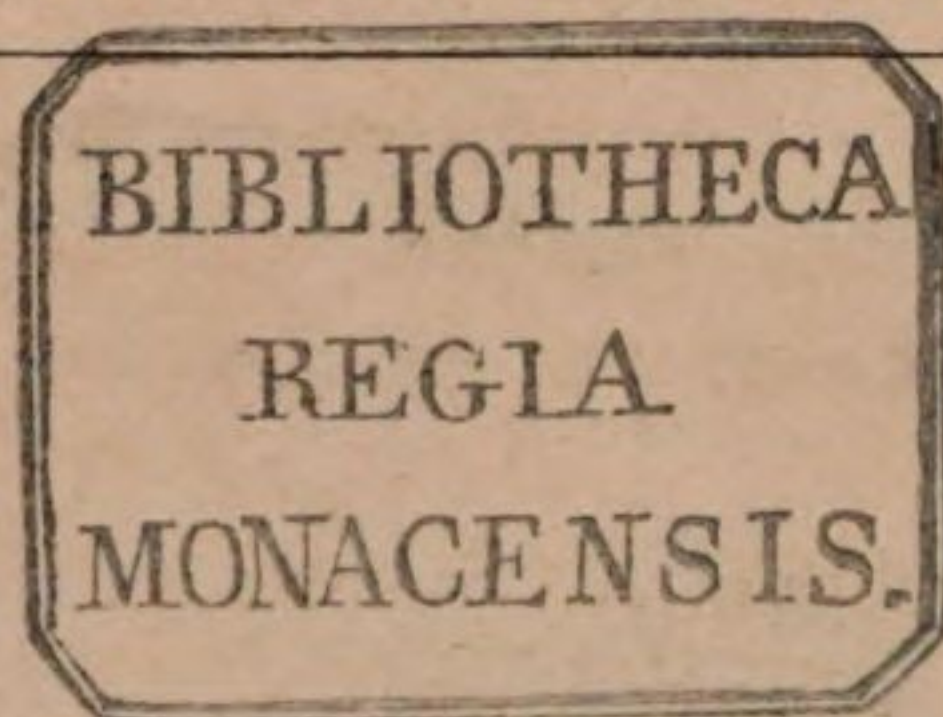
THE
UNHOLY ALLIANCE:
AN
AMERICAN VIEW
OF THE
WAR IN THE EAST.

BY
WILLIAM GILES DIX.

CHRISTO ET CRUCI.

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P R E F A C E .

IN December, 1853, the writer published a small pamphlet, condemning the threatened course of Western Europe in upholding by force the Ottoman empire, and remonstrating against the predilections in behalf of Turkey, which then prevailed much more extensively than now in the United States. The writer could not then see, and he cannot now, how the preservation of a dominion which has been evil, and only evil and that continually, can be necessary for the security of any interests which ought to be secured. He received the explicit commendation of Christian scholars of worth and eminence, which was the more gratifying, because he felt compelled to speak plainly, although in direct antagonism to the general spirit of the public press. Happily, calm reflection has nearly dispelled in this country, the temporary delusion about the duty of sustaining by the energies of Christian civilization the historic enemy of Christianity; and very few can be found who now sustain the Western Alliance except upon the ground of preferring English and French ascendancy to Russian in the East. This point he has endeavored faithfully to discuss.

As concerns the permanence of the Moslem sovereignty in Europe, the writer has referred to the bold advocacy of the cause of Greece by Webster and Clay. Through inadvertence he has spoken of them as senators. Of course,

at the time of the Greek revolution they were members of the House. The reasons for Christian sympathy are a thousand fold stronger now than ever; and it is to be hoped, that manly words in behalf of Christian rights in the East will soon be spoken, not only in the House of Representatives, but in the national Senate. It is significant that the United States, during the Presidency of the younger Adams, while Mr. Clay was Secretary of State, first acknowledged the independence of Greece.

Among the arguments for sustaining the course of England is American respect for Shakspeare, Milton, and Hooker. There is no logic in the books for such an argument. Because we love to hear the sweet singer of Stratford-upon-Avon, therefore we must sympathize with England for keeping under the Moslem yoke the land where reigned and sung the sweet singer of Israel. Because we follow with trembling rapture the sublime flights of "Paradise Lost," therefore we must uphold England in striving to prevent the desolate Christian East becoming again "Paradise Regained." Because we admire "the judicious Hooker," therefore we must follow the injudicious Lord Palmerston through thick and thin.

The inexpressible grief with which many sincere lovers of England in America have watched her course, from the beginning of the Eastern question until now, may be somewhat assuaged by the growing reaction in our fatherland against any longer support of Islam by Christian arms, or any more acts of sacrilege against Christianity. When Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright were the only prominent statesmen in England who stood "faithful found among the faithless," many persons who regard any plan of public policy as worthless unless it has an aristocratic endorsement,

could afford to deride their position as rudely as did Lord Palmerston himself; but now that some of the proudest representatives of the ancient and honorable families of Great Britain are compelled by their love of truth and of their country (though the love of place may have an incidental weight) to arrange themselves by the side of the great corn-law agitators, there is reason to hope, that titled names may secure even in some exclusive American circles the acknowledgment that the Eastern question has two sides.

Lord Grey has spoken in his place in Parliament with a directness and force which, considering the difficulties of his position, prove the highest heroism, worthy of a Christian legislator, and challenging respect everywhere beyond the hallucination of the present cabinet of England. The London Times has felt the force of truth, and gives to Lord Grey, beyond his legal titles, that of the "devil's advocate." As the London Times has itself maintained sentiments not wholly unlike those which it now blames in Lord Grey, it may be concluded that the bitterness expressed by it is that natural to those who depart from the right way, and are ever after angry with those who walk in it. The London Times has now been of the same mind for about two years, a singular instance of its pertinacity, which should be well weighed by those who regulate their conscientious convictions by the daily perusal of that journal; in which the constant reader, without going to other sources, and by exercising reasonable patience, can see argued with equal ability and fidelity all sides of any great question. It is one of the idiosyncrasies of the "Thunderer," that he is very capricious in choosing his objects of attack, changing his friends and enemies at short notice,

and discharging his fiery bolts in succession from opposite quarters of the sky.

It is nearly time for the London Times to turn its kaleidoscope again. Meanwhile, one may doubt whether the title of "the devil's advocate," may be more appropriate to a Christian statesman who begins to see the error of his country in placing the balance of power above the Christian religion, or to the daily journal which boldly defends a Christian government for sustaining a dominion which is all that can be conceived of as "earthly, sensual, devilish." Lord Grey may be assured that, by a persistence in his manly protests, the London Times will yet very gladly proclaim him not "the devil's advocate," but the Saviour of England.

The moral courage of Lord Grey may yet break the spell which binds the bench of bishops. One of these, of whom far better things were to be expected, the Bishop of Oxford, speaks of "the liberties of Turkey," as if "the liberties of Turkey" had not been for ages the chains of Christianity. But though the Bishop of Oxford is yet in the fog, there is some hope of the Chancellor of the University. It would be well, indeed, if the ancestral honors of the House of Derby were about to be shaded by the more positive glory of personal merit, at the greatest crisis of English history. Whether, then, they refer to the Chancellor of Oxford, or to his "filius carissimus," or to both "the last words of Marmion" may here be adopted as the last words of this preface, "On, Stanley, on!"

W. G. D.

ASTOR PLACE, NEW YORK.

July 25th, 1855.

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE.

CHAPTER I.

The present position of the Christian Powers. The Greek Revolution. American Sympathies. Turkey and the European System.

WHAT wonders are born of time ! Vast armies once gathered in the East to expel the Infidel from Christian ground ; now vast armies have gathered in the East to keep him there. Life is in league with death. Torrents of Christian blood have already been poured forth in upholding the sovereign power of the scourge of Christendom. The treaty which called forth this sacrifice has been signed, sealed, and published to mankind. The bans of marriage have been proclaimed between Christian truth and all unrighteousness. Christian states vouch for the salvation of Mecca. The midday sun rolls back to the embrace of night.

The Ottoman empire has won support by the very continuity of injustice. Her bloody history has re-

ceived the seal of prescription, which justifies all crime, and sanctifies all sin. An English scholar has written an essay on "Murder considered as one of the Fine Arts," showing how men may overlook intrinsic wrong in admiration of its ingenuity. So the Ottoman Empire has gained respect by reducing insult to a system, and making it the hereditary rule of government. All sense of indignity has been lost in wonder at the adroitness with which Turkish cimeters have been brandished about Christian heads, and at the zeal with which Christian temples have been converted into mosques of Mahomet. This admiration of the beauty of unholiness is now shown in sustaining the historic foe of Christendom, by the resources of Christian civilization. Parliaments and Imperial senators, Chapters and Universities, Bishops and Archbishops now implore the Majesty of heaven to save from ruin Mahometan power. Such a spectacle is the very sublimity of contradiction. Well may the Christian world look to its bearings, consult its chart and its compass, and ask in God's name whither and how far it is drifting from its firm anchorage by the Rock of Ages.

America cannot see with indifference old European affinities broken, and new ones formed, for she knows how many subtle dependencies, which treaties cannot define, connect the brotherhood of nations; how, by some of the unseen springs of international mechanism, many governments may be involved in the conduct or consequences of a war of slight and [narrow beginning; how neither

distance nor separation of policy may be a sure pledge of safety when the black storm of battle sweeps over the sky, discharging the bolts of fire in unexpected places, and drenching with gore the most secluded valleys of peace. As when fire bursts forth in the heart of a city, and those far from immediate peril, admiring the grandeur of the conflagration, may soon be terrified, as the wanton flames sweep towards them, and at length circle their homes, and lay desolate their pleasant places,—so, when the spirit of war once lights her torch upon this earth, observers from vineyards on the hill-sides and from high watch-towers afar, know not how soon the war-horse may trample those vineyards with hoofs of ruin, or how soon those watch-towers may be smouldering in ashes.

If, then, America has no security that the lightning of conflict may not startle her quiet sky, she cannot err in considering in season the principles at issue in the great question of the day, whose branches extending wider and wider, may yet cross the continent of Europe and the Atlantic Ocean, and overspread the Western hemisphere. If the war in the East be only a result of local ambition, if it involve no universal principles, if it be only an affair of Europe, America will have no need to do more than to look calmly on, trusting in God to make the right successful, on which side soever it may be; but if reflecting men see beneath the superficial tide which washes the banks of the Bosphorus, an under-current of influence which reaches every shore, they

may be forgiven for bidding people to be wise sometimes, lest the calm depths become suddenly tumultuous, and make many a wreck, and sweep many a thoughtless pilot into the unredeeming sea.

Divested of the snares of diplomacy, the Eastern question is simply this, whether Christian sovereignty shall be restored to those portions of Europe, Asia, and Africa, which are now ruled by the Sublime Porte, or whether the Ottoman Empire shall remain, and its independence be secured by the Christian Powers. Were the relation of Russia and Turkey the whole of the Eastern question, it might be a matter alone for the skill of European negotiation, and for the force of European arms. But the Eastern question is as broad as the diffusion of Christianity. This is the consideration, not well heeded, which makes the present war the most momentous event since the fall of the Roman Empire; and it is the position which the United States may be called upon to take in reference to the Christian sovereignty of the East, which gives to every American a personal interest in the war, whether he chooses or not to regard it. It is, then, the possibility of what may be required, one knows not how soon, by some of the rights and duties of Christianity, which makes the events in Turkey something more than a matter of speculation here in America. For the Anglo-Saxon race, one of the most vigorous ever converted to the Christian faith, now represented by two great empires, cannot be without responsibility in regard to the Ottoman

dominion. If that dominion is to be maintained, the reasons must be satisfactory to both the Anglo-Saxon empires, not to one alone ; if it is to fall, it is to be decided by both what Anglo-Saxon immunities are to be claimed in the East.

The position of England, then, as the exponent of Anglo-Saxon Christianity needs to be carefully reviewed in this country. If there be any causes in the way of a just judgment, let them be manfully met. If there be any prejudices to be overcome, let them be honorably confessed.

There are two classes of people in America, who regard England with feelings directly opposite. One believe that England can do no wrong, the other that she can do nothing right ; one love her better than they love their native land, and, though living in a republic, yearn towards England like an unwilling exile in a far-off prison ; the other never think of her but with disdain, never speak of her but with obloquy ; one regard the Revolution as a sad necessity, the other think it was too long deferred, and wish to see every colony of England an independent state ; the one are pained by every bitter allusion to England, the other are incensed by every word of commendation ; with one it is a sure passport to respect for any thing, that it is English ; with the other, that phrase is the very pledge of condemnation ; the one regard the people of England as the children of Israel, and all who strive against them as Philistines, consequently deeming their own countrymen sometimes as half Philistines, and they esteem the Duke

of Wellington next after the holy Apostles; the other class would not be grieved if the Philistines, whether French or what not, always conquered, and share with people who like England better than they, in thinking that England drew quite as much shame as glory from Waterloo.

But there is another class, so numerous as to be called in general terms the people of the United States, who honor England for herself, her history, her constitution, as the land of their fathers, but think that they enjoy a more excellent way. They do not charge upon the people of England of all past, present, and future time, the obstinate errors of George the Third and of his ministers; but they think that their fathers did gloriously in sundering their allegiance to the British crown, and they commemorate that deed with increasing fervor and gratitude. They have no wish to interfere with England's prosperity, and they think that England can find better business than to trouble theirs. Their first impressions are favorable to the policy of England towards the other states of Europe, since they regard her as the most powerful representative of constitutional liberty in the old world; but they do not bind themselves blindly to approve her course because it is that of England. They see a myriad of defects in the legislation and administration of England, which palsies her energy, and keeps ignorant her mind; they see some noble traits in the English aristocracy, but they do not look upon a peer of the realm as the only Englishman worthy

of respect, or his titles as alone deserving the nurture of government. They think that English industry and patriotism would be promoted, that the security of government would be confirmed, that the rights of all would be more justly valued, if the British or Irish laborer could hope by honorable toil to buy and own the soil he tills. They believe that England and the United States have too many interests in common to fall out by the way; and though they may be sometimes vexed by the annoyance of an English statesman, and see it reasonably punished with composure, they have no wish to see England permanently lose her high place among the nations of the earth. They enjoyed the silent return of Napier from the Baltic, as most becoming his boastful departure; they sometimes wonder on what viands the dainty Admiral dined at St. Petersburg after taking Cronstadt; but they think that England has glory enough in her history to bear with equanimity a little wholesome humiliation. They remember that English history, learning, law, and religion, are theirs; that their Republic is in fact England freed from petrified conventionalities, and fossil prescriptions, acting under more favorable auspices for the general prosperity, and fulfilling under an independent government what could not be done under colonial restraint. England is the mother who has won and receives respect; America is the youthful bride with whom life's journey is spent.

The sum of the matter seems to be this: that the Republic of the United States, though first spring-

ing into being from English injustice, and being in many ways impeded since her independence by English jealousy, by the claims of English maritime supremacy, and by the general supervision sought, and if possible enforced, by England over the policies of every dominion,—the Republic of the United States, notwithstanding these causes of irritation, has never failed to acknowledge her obligations to England for many precious gifts. If, at any time, she seems too boastful of her progress, she will honestly concede, that never in so short a time could she have done so much but for the impulse of institutions whose foundations were laid centuries ago upon English soil. If among the people of the United States, generally well-disposed towards England, there ever arises any sentiment akin to enmity, it springs not from any forgetfulness of the bond of race, not from any want of gratitude for the riches which have been drawn from the wells of English culture, literary, civil, and religious, not from a desire to see a single ray of English glory dimmed, but from a suspicion which events have sometimes tended to produce, that England rather pines than rejoices at her daughter's heritage, that she is rather disturbed than gratified by her daughter's presence in the circle of nations, wearing, indeed, no diadem upon her brow, but yet crowned with freedom, light, and joy.

O Mother-Isle of Nations ! in this, the darkest hour of thy history, gladly would America forget every cause or shadow of a cause of disaffection

which has ever arisen between thee and her, and fly to thy rescue; but she painfully doubts the need and justice of thy cause. America has no theoretical respect for the balance of power, and she repudiates and denounces it when applied to the preservation of the Ottoman empire. America calls upon thee at once to turn from thy path of death, or those little words which seven years ago tolled the knell of a dynasty, will be heard in England "Too late, too late." Has the Sun of Oxford set? Where is the light which the dying martyr kindled, and which he prophesied should never go out? England, pray—pray that some ray from the east or the west may pierce and dispel the Moslem cloud, which now hangs so thick and black around the walls of Westminster Abbey, under whose hallowed arches kings and queens have been crowned, as defenders of the Christian faith, but never as royal confessors of Mahomet!

America has heard with composure the reproaches of England, for her want of sympathy. To these, let her reply, that the American heart has seldom been so wrung by any record of sufferings, as by those of the English army in the Crimea. The same man, on the borders of the Western prairie, who speaks with scorn of English domination, has felt many a thrill of sorrow for the brave English soldier, who, for no fault of his, has perished in the vain siege of Sebastopol. England! go to any one of the trembling survivors of the war of the Revolution, or of the later conflict, and tell him

how many thousands of thy best and bravest men have fallen stiff and haggard, not on the battle-field, but in the deadly camp, and the tear will glisten in those same dim eyes which in youth flashed answering fire before thy batteries, and fixed the still and mortal aim. England! there is sympathy for thee in America; but it is with thy woes, not with thy unrighteous cause.

If the English Press, itself unfaithful to the true Anglo-Saxon position in the momentous question which now absorbs the attention of mankind, cannot prevail upon the people of this Republic to sympathize more with oppressive Turks than with suffering Christians, let it find a solution of the failure in the incongruity of hoping that American influence, not hitherto desired by the kings and aristocracies of Europe, should now be successfully invoked on the ground of a common kindred and a common faith, by England engaged in a war undertaken and conducted in bold defiance of the claims of Christian brotherhood.

The tie of religion is stronger than the bond of race. America is not deaf to the voice of kindred in peril, but she would rather give counsel how to escape from present dangers and to avoid future ones, than to confirm both by approbation of an evil course. In sustaining the sovereignty of Turkey, England and France are in the wrong. Their armies have suffered, partly from defects of management, but mainly because they have not the sustaining heart which a consciousness of right inspires. God

forbid that any American, at an hour like this when grief is a guest in every English, in every French home, should indulge in bitter crimination without cause! It is easy to speak consolation; but of what avail is consolation from dissembling lips? It would be easy to say "Fight on, fight on, nothing is impossible for English and French courage;" but is war so beautiful, that one shall watch its movements, careless of motive and results? Persistence in wrong never issues in right. England especially distinctly avows by her policy that the fall of the Ottoman empire is not expedient, and in this avowal she is in the wrong, wrong as a ruling power, wrong as a Christian realm, wrong as the inheritor of sacred trusts to be fulfilled in the Holy Land for ages to come.

Let England and France form an alliance if they will respecting Turkey; but the first article of their treaty should be an acknowledgment that the Ottoman empire ought no longer to exist as an independent sovereignty, but that its prerogatives, forfeited if ever justly held, should be at once surrendered to hands authorized to receive them in the name of all the Christian powers upon earth. This would be the alliance of Christian rights against Moslem wrongs. But, when England and France declare that the claims of Christianity in the East are of no moment, unless they can be secured by the preservation of Mahometan sovereignty, they may look and pray in vain for sympathy beyond the circle of their schemes. America is not of so hard

a heart that she cannot weep; but let her weakness be forgiven, if, in reviewing the centuries of Turkish rule, she deploras the woes of Christian vassals more often than she respects the crimes of Moslem lords. Hence, America will think for herself upon the Eastern question; if called to international conferences, she will speak for herself; and, if events shall require, she will act for herself; and whatever she thinks, speaks, or does will be in vindication of the Christian religion, to which she owes her greatest good on earth, and the inspiration of immortal life.

The moral force of America is fully committed against the continuance of Mahometan tyranny. The Greek Revolution drew forth enthusiastic expressions of approval and hope from the popular voice and the public press in America. In the Senate of the United States, and throughout the land, voices now silent in death rung in behalf of the Greeks. The oracles of Grecian genius inspired the lovers of liberty anew; and scholars drew many a bright lance from classic armories against the power which devastated with unpitying hand the home of eloquence and song. If Americans could rejoice then at the spirit shown by the Greeks, though unsuccessful without other aid, they would be no less glad now to see the twelve millions of Christian people in Turkey in Europe, by their own might or by help from abroad freeing themselves from Moslem despotism on the soil of their fathers, surrounded by desecrated memorials of the Faith on which they rely for salvation.

Let a single leaf be placed upon the tomb of one of these American defenders of the Greeks.

He was a statesman to his country true,
Whose brow in age was moist with youthful dew ;
A patriot whom no enmity could pen,
A sovereign only o'er the hearts of men,
Which at the bidding of his single will,
Beat with quick blood or pensive hushed stood still.
His tones now trilled like the soft, warbling flute,
Now like the clangor of the bugle rung ;
At his voice others were enchained and mute,—
Senates august and thronging thousands hung
With equal rapture on his lips of power,
In breathless fealty to the enchanting hour.
None who, more fortunate, gained honor's height
Ruled o'er the land with more convincing might,
Than he o'er hosts of sterling men, who pressed
His hands with ardor which their eyes confessed.
Though lifted not to that exalted seat,
For seventy years he wore his honors meet,
Where'er his name on lips of man was heard,
Where'er entranced the music of his word ;
And breathed out life near the familiar field
Which oft the triumphs of his voice would yield.
Others have won enduring praise ; but love,
The manly love which manly hearts can feel,
He drew spontaneous all his peers above,
Who with him labored for the common weal.
Those who best knew him, from youth's opening year
To life's last breath and to the laden bier,
His name so cherish for affection's sake
That, should you wish in their last hour to make
Dull, dying eyes flash open to the day,
In the chilled ear speak softly—HENRY CLAY.

At the altar of Grecian genius the eye of Henry Clay gathered new brightness ; and his voice answered the shout of the Greeks, as it sounded across the waste of waters. Thus, the tones of Grecian freedom, echoed from the walls of the American capitol, reverberated again from the ruins of the Parthenon. Some, in the eagerness of youth, could not refrain from going to the land where freedom fought again. Prominent among these was an American, Samuel G. Howe, who lent his manly aid to release Grecian necks from Turkish chains, and Grecian sight from Moslem blindness ; and who now, in his native land, with as zealous but more peaceful philanthropy, labors to pour the light of intellectual day on eyes that cannot see, and to draw from lips that cannot speak some signs of that wisdom from above which passeth speech.

Daniel Webster, also, in a speech especially marked by the reasoning eloquence or persuasive logic, as one may choose to call the characteristic of his oratory, protested in the face of the world against the assumed prerogatives of the Holy Alliance, maintained the inviolable character of the American example, and denounced the Royal Brotherhood for discountenancing the Greeks in their efforts to throw off the Turkish yoke. The very power which drew forth the severest animadversions of the American senator, made some amends afterwards, by joining with England and France in establishing the independence of Greece. These two powers, which did not join the Holy Alliance, one

being its tool and the other its victim, have now merged their affinities in a more reprehensible union than that, for a purpose more reprehensible than any avowed or imagined by the Holy Alliance, to support "the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire," a deficient, stagnant despotism, a standing outrage upon the law of God, the law of humanity, the law of nations.

Besides, though nations once at war should keep the peace when declared, there may be reasons against a closer fellowship than the common rights and duties of good neighborhood require. Certainly, any warlike combination of England and France in the affairs of Europe is incongruous while Nemesis weeps above the tomb of Napoleon. Yet the war itself, it must be admitted, may compel such changes in the British constitution as shall avenge the wrongs of prescription and vindicate intrinsic rights. Nemesis begins to dry her tears.

The union of England and France in founding the kingdom of Greece was not an act of war, but of peaceful mediation. It involved no such blending of interest as the Western Alliance in the war in the East; and being conducted, as regards France, by a monarch of the Bourbon race, though it would have added honor to Napoleon Bonaparte himself, still made no representative of Napoleon a party in arranging Europe with a government which crushed the hero of France and the liberties of Europe at Waterloo.

Would that Daniel Webster, who denounced

the Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, for disregarding the Greeks, could rise from the dead to rebuke with the same energy of condemnation the Unholy Alliance of England and France against Grecian liberty and the Christian religion ! What fire would have gleamed from those orbs now quenched in death and moldering by the sea, at the news of England and France pressing their joined hands on the young heart of Greece, to prevent its beating in sympathy with kindred of the same Christian faith, now bending with groans and tears under the Turkish yoke, from which Greece herself, by the help of God, escaped !

The Greek revolution excited enthusiasm, because it was looked upon as a revival of the ancient spirit which has crowned Greece with the laurels of history. From the earliest records of Greece, the ardor of the patriot of every land has been moved by the sacrificing bravery of her sons. The pages of Grecian eloquence and philosophy have inspired "thoughts that breathe and words that burn" in every language of the civilized world. Accordingly, when the Greeks themselves struck once more for liberty and independence, the harp of the poet responded in ecstasy to the classic songs of Greece in strains of hope for the land where the choicest dialects that were ever measured in immortal verse, warbled over Doric plains and Spartan hills and the bright Attic shore. Well might patriotism, eloquence, poetry, and art, plead for the Greeks, for the sake of Homer, Phidias, and Pindar, for Athens

and Demosthenes, for Leonidas and the soil of Sparta ! Well might America sympathize with Greece ; for not one watchword of her ancient glory but quickened American pulses with the fervor of resistance, less than one century ago !

The spirit of intellectual beauty was invoked. The memories of Greece, in her splendor, thronged to the lips of the orator, as he depicted her misery while the Turkish rule domineered in scorn over the shrine of beauty and the home of taste. Poetry hung wreaths, mixed with the cypress and the laurel, upon the ruins of the Parthenon, and sighed as she looked on Salamis, and walked upon the plain of Marathon. One, whose poetic creations, gleaming with living fire, flashed in succession on the gazing world, until condemnation of his waywardness enchanted owned his spell, stilled at once a thousand voices of rebuke, and made stern faces moist with tears, as he died, ere the full glory of his prime, the friend and counselor of Greece at Missolonghi.

At length Greece became free. The establishment of her independence has been pronounced a failure by some observers, who consider not the servile and every way melancholy condition of the Greeks under the sway of the Turks, and understand not how hard it is to bind up the broken spirit of a man, or of a people, even by ultimate success in efforts in which hope long deferred casts over hope fulfilled the gloom of despondency and irresolution. But those who more kindly appreciate the difficul-

ties of Greece, knowing that in thirty years cannot be undone the evils of ages, speak more hopefully of the Greeks, and believe, that, whatever may become of Greece herself, the Grecian character is losing more defects than it is acquiring, and is regaining more marks than it is losing of those qualities which won admiration in other days ; and that, whether or not as a sovereign power, still, as a ruling influence, it will do as much as any national force whatever in guiding and forming the regenerated culture of the East.

But, those who, if they do not regret the establishment of Greece, speak of it as of doubtful success, fail to see the true historic significance of the measure ; which is, that it was the first decisive blow against the sovereignty of the Turks in Europe, the first acknowledgment by any combination of the Christian powers, that the Sublime Porte has not inalienable sovereign rights. The formation of any portion of territory once under the sway of the Sublime Porte, into an independent state, is the practical precedent in advance of the theory which will be maintained throughout this discussion, that the Turkish sovereignty has no valid existence according to the rights and principles of the law of nations. If this ground be disputed, why was Greece established ? If it be not disputed, by what title does the Sublime Porte hold Constantinople, and the sacred cities of the East ? Let Russia, England, and France undo their own act, and restore Greece to the Turks, and so repair the injury to the Sublime

Porte ; or also go farther, and as representatives of Christendom, fulfill its most sacred trust in restoring Christian sovereignty where it belongs. Let those, then, who deride the foundation of the kingdom of Greece as a slight thing, reflect more calmly ; and they will see that, small as Greece is, she was once glorious, and little as her restoration seemed to affect the general interests of mankind, it is the simple key which is destined to unlock the Eastern question, and to open the vast halls of Mahometan night to the benign radiance of Christian day.

How England and France can retire from their present position as sureties for Turkish sovereignty, and fulfill their duties as Christian realms, is a question of casuistry which their governments cannot solve without their own dissolution ; but which the people of England and the people of France can determine without treachery ; for dynastic policies bind cabinets and sovereigns with a bond of iron,—by their success or failure they must stand or fall ; but the people are always free to correct the madness of their rulers, and to inaugurate new policies with new men.

A greater question now shakes the world than the liberty of Greece. Christianity herself, after long captivity, is striving to throw off the Moslem chains. Higher than classical associations now draw the regards of Christian men towards the lands of the East, where, in the early ages of the church, Athanasius, Gregory, and Basil labored zealously

and long ; lands where, from the first promises of grace to their benign fulfillment, Jewish or Christian prophets and confessors longed for the coming of the Messiah, or rejoiced that he had come ; the regions where apostles preached in ministries divine, where the first martyrs fell before the pagan engines of death, the humble grave where Jesus wept, the holy mount where Jesus prayed,—the holier mount where Jesus died.

Christians feel less keenly than scholars the indignity of Moslem rule. Yet, glorious as Grecian genius is, what has it done for mankind compared with the benefits of the Christian Faith ? Athens is the parent of intellectual delight ; Jerusalem is the mother of celestial joy. Grecian culture enchants the mind ; Christianity transforms the heart. Grecian art has given glory to the painted canvas, almost life to the cold Parian marble, has irradiated literature with thoughts that cannot die, has lifted architectural columns which still attest in ruin their ancient splendor. Grecian history abounds with the brave deeds of men who loved their native land. Christianity has given to human life a divine halo, beyond the painter's art ; has changed souls of men harder and colder than the Parian marble into warm, living images of holy love ; has poured over literature a beauty beyond Grecian skill,—the beauty of holiness ; has bound souls together in the heavenly architecture of the temple of God ; has filled history with the brave deeds of men who counted life as nought when acting by the strength of Christ.

Grecian culture loves still seclusions, and the classic bower; Christianity fights the battle of life, and wins the garland in a race divine. Grecian culture can soothe thoughts troubled by the cares of state; Christianity alone can "minister to a mind diseased." Grecian culture wins her way to cloistered piles; Christianity lays her hand of love upon the peasant's brow, and adds her jewel to royal crowns only when kings sincerely kneel. Grecian culture can adorn life's tranquil hours with mental luxury; but, in the hour of mortal conflict, when the robe of clay is fading, when earthly comfort fails and earthly blessings die, when Plato has no charm and Homer sings in vain, when skill cannot assuage and friendship strives in vain, when love can only weep, try once again to cure, then turn again to weep,—then Christianity alone in holy words can say, "I am the resurrection and the life."

The law of association was one of the main causes of the sympathy excited by the Greek Revolution. The Greece to be rescued from the Turks was felt to be not only the Greece of modern days, but that glorified by classic memories. To the scholar Greece was holy ground; and the Greek Revolution was a sort of intellectual crusade to recover the groves of the Academy and the Acropolis from the sway of the spoiler.

This feeling is to be honored and revered, and, quite as much as regard for the welfare of the Greeks and abhorrence of Turkish barbarities, it secured Grecian independence. But how many more sacred

associations hover around the lands now ruled by the Turks, than about those of Greece! The Garden of Gethsemane is more precious than Marathon, yet it was thought a sacrilege that the Turks should rule where Greece was saved from the Persian scepter; but Christianity is now reviled beneath the very olive-trees which sighed with the Saviour's agony; and the spot on which the Redeemer of mankind knelt in woe never before endured on earth, has been trampled on, for eight hundred years, by those who scorn alike Him and all who love his name.

All Christendom rejoiced when the city of the Parthenon became again the capital of Greece. The Mosque of Omar still desecrates the site of the Temple of Solomon, and Christians are excluded, on pain of death, from the holy precincts where, in the splendid Jewish reign, were consecrated to the Most High the walls of cedar glowing with gold. The desolation of "Scio's rocky isle" was mourned not only for itself, but for the memory of the "blind old man who sang 'Achilles' wrath;'" but Christians mourn not over the city where the sweet singer of Israel sung the glory of Jehovah, Jerusalem, the queen of cities, the joy of the earth, the gateway of Heaven, desolate for ages in the hands of the scorner of Christ. The liberation of the place where Demosthenes controlled the fierce democracy, which lay as fixed beneath his words as the sea-beaten shore, and whence he launched invectives against Philip of Macedon, was hailed with rapture as a vindication of the Athenian's fame; but Christian scholars have been dumb four

hundred years, while daily, hourly, the rites of Mecca have profaned the shrine of Holy Wisdom, named for the earlier temple, beneath whose roof the golden lips of Chrysostom discoursed celestial learning, and besought his hearers, by the strength of Christ, to keep their souls like fortresses against besieging foes. Poesy was glad when Mount Parnassus was restored to Grecian rule; but Islam still holds the Mount of Olives, crowned not by inspiring muses, but consecrated by his prayers and his serene instruction who spake as never poet sung. England and France now uphold by force that profane dominion which has held so long the Christian East beneath its tyranny of death; and the English press is astounded, because the sentiment of America declines to sanction such a sacrilegious expenditure of Christian blood.

This mode of discussion may be deemed irrelevant to the Eastern question, because political economy, not sentiment, rules the affairs of nations. It is the very ground of complaint, that the rights of Christianity are openly made subordinate to the caprice and jealousy of cabinets, that the convictions of Christian hearts are deliberately stifled by presumed necessities of state; that Christian eyes are so blinded by the veil of policy, as not to see that every blow struck for the permanence of Mahometan power is a direct violation of the claims of Christianity. Sentiment is sometimes the best of arguments, because the most intuitive and simple. The natural prompting of the heart may sometimes be a better principle of action than decrees in council or

diplomatic subtleties. Classic sentiment approved the Greek revolution, and all the measures taken to establish the liberties of Greece; and if Christian sentiment may not justify an actual Crusade for the recovery of the lands now held by the Turks, it may be pardoned for refusing to sanction an armed movement of combined Christian powers for a purpose directly the reverse of the Crusades.

The parable of the Good Samaritan has been wrenched to apply to the Eastern question. Reversed, it holds. The Good Samaritan saw in his journey a traveler who had been robbed, wounded, and left half dead. The Good Samaritan took care of him. Is the Turk the wounded traveler? Are England and France a brace of good Samaritans? No doubt they will take care of the Turk with a vengeance; but the Turk is not the wounded traveler. He is himself the robber, who after having ravaged the Holy Land, and offered to Mahomet the spoils of Christian temples, is now in peril of meeting the due reward of his deeds. If the Good Samaritan had fallen in with one of the robbers, disabled by the wayside, instead of their victim, he would have ministered to his need; but he would have insisted on his restoring their goods to those whom he had injured. Let the Turks be treated with compassion; if need be, clothe them, feed them, shelter them, but they must surrender the sovereign rights of which they have robbed the Christian world and the Christian Church. The Eastern Christian is the wounded traveler, left half dead by

the Turk, despoiled of all that is his, near Jerusalem also, like the sufferer in the parable; and, though he worships at the altar of the Greek cross, England and France would be truly Good Samaritans if, though worshiping at other shrines, they would strive to break his chains, instead of binding them still closer. This same poor traveler the priests and levites of England and France pass by without relieving, and encourage their governments in upholding the Turkish robbers in their crimes.

While England stands on the gulf of ruin for her unholy course, her clerical hosts are dumb. Perhaps they are too busy discussing Greek particles and elucidating Greek plays to care for the sufferings of living Greeks, owning the same Lord, looking for salvation to the same cross, that win their own regard when they are not otherwise occupied by their devotions to the Fine Arts, which so engross their minds that they cannot heed what is due to their allegiance to Christ, now in England as once in Judea, "despised and rejected of men."

Ye polished scholars! ye classic divines of England! ye ascend with rapture the heights of *Æschylus*, and follow the mazes of *Pindar's* songs, ye glide with delight along the smooth current of *Herodotus*, and look on Ionic fields of war and peace from *Homer's* throne; but ye feel or express no shame, that the regions blest by the religious aisles and heavenward towers of great *Isaiah's* inspiration are still subject to the foe of that Christ of whose sor-

rows and triumphant sway Isaiah sung his most affecting, most exalted strain. Ye can revere Demosthenes urging the men of Athens to war, but not Saint Paul declaring to the men of Athens the unknown God; ye can be sad at the sorrows of Sappho, who mourned not with a tenderness divine,—but ye have no tears for the agony of Mary, of whom laments the sacred hymn,

“Near the Cross, her vigils keeping,
Stood the Mother, grieving, weeping,
While hung there her Saviour Son.”

The Holy Land would long ago have been redeemed from Moslem rule, had not Christian scholars walked more often in the groves of the Academy with Plato, discoursing darkly of the life to come, than on the Mount of Olives with the Son of God, who brought life and immortality to light. This age has seen no sadder sight than the assemblage of St. Paul's obeying meekly the orders of State, and in chancels consecrated to Christ praying for the success of Christian England in fighting the battles of Mahomet. The cathedrals of England were consecrated to the Cross of Christ, not to the coffin of Mahomet.

Oxford and Cambridge! Christian Universities, adorned by a long succession of defenders of the Faith! ye make no protest when glorious England, that nourished you, and whom you are bound to warn as well as serve, takes arms against the Cross.

Oxford and Cambridge ! ye look on silently, while England fights for the scepter of Islam. Were your beloved Greece not free, and were England contending to keep the Greeks of Athens in the power of the Turks, ye could find a tongue ; even, when, recently, the allied fleets occupied the Piræus, some of your sons dared to cry Shame ! shame ! but now that England has gone to war to uphold Mahometan sovereignty wherever it prevails, ye are as dumb as if ye never knew that Christ was born in Bethlehem and died on Calvary. Ye would plead, ye would pray, ye would strive, to save the shrines of Greece ; but ye care not for the memorials of the presence of your Lord on earth. Ye prefer the Bay of Salamis to Jordan's flood, whose waters fell upon the brow to bleed ere long beneath the crown of thorns, and touched the feet to be anointed soon with precious ointment and with more precious tears. Your intellectual sympathies can be moved at the memory of the fatal cup of which calm Socrates partook ; but ye remember with indifference that other cup, full of bitter grief and pain to him who drank, but of reviving strength to souls diseased in every age and clime. Why is the sweet singer of Oxford, who sung the changing zodiac of the Christian year,—why is he silent now ? Let him strike from his sad harp a dirge, as he sees that bright constellation, the Church of England, shorn of its glorious beams, and plunging into Pagan chaos.

Thank God! if Christianity is not strong enough in England to reverse her policy, there is one influence which has heretofore made itself felt in English affairs, and that is political economy. If Christianity must turn weeping from the towers of Oxford, she may find a refuge in the factories of Manchester. Political economy, which has been heretofore regarded as of too material an origin to be the mother of high endeavors, will win the gratitude of all coming ages, if she shall prove to be in this dark hour, the best defender of the faith in England. "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation." Lords, spiritual and temporal, have been weighed in the balance, and found wanting. It may be reserved for men of whom the world has never heard, to save England, with God's help, from her course of death.

How many armies can England afford to supply, convey, and to bury, or to leave unburied for the lack of hands, in defense of the Ottoman empire? How long will England stand taxation and the raising of armies, in order that thousands and thousands more of her brave sons may perish in the Crimea, of cold, exposure, fever, and aristocratic neglect? When England needs the industry of every arm to supply the losses of war in her revenues, how many strong men can be spared to fill the trenches of Sebastopol? What is England fighting for, unless it be for an object that will bring equal humiliation whether she fails or succeeds?

There will be no prosperity, virtue, or glory in sustaining the Ottoman empire, the curse of the world; there will be no pride in seeing it fall despite English valor and treasure, expended to save it. For how many disastrous campaigns will English fathers readily offer their sons, as human sacrifices to Mahomet? What English mother, what French mother, but feels, if she reflects, that the son for whom her heart yearns is suffering on a far-off soil, while bearing arms, in obedience to a cruel and infatuated government, against the honor of the Lord, in whose name she daily prays that her son may be saved from the perils of war, and be restored to her fond sight? May God wake England from her mad stupor, and throw light enough upon her darkened path, that she may see the precipice before her in season to avoid the doom from which nations never rise again!

If it be said that Christianity is a spiritual system, and hence it is of little moment who rules over the sacred places of her history, let it be replied, that Christianity is a spiritual system, and her chief throne is the heart of man, but, because spiritual, she was designed to have a residence on earth while earth endures, in order to keep ever alive man's origin and destiny. Christianity is the law of gravitation which holds this earth to the central throne of the universe. Christianity is to pervade all the institutions of man, all forms of government, the

sources of all social, civil, and religious influences ; and to fulfill these purposes she must become everywhere the supreme dominion. If, then, Christianity, which has existed in germ or in fruition in all ages, is to rule the world as a visible manifestation of the divine presence, she will not always be excluded from the scenes of her first appearance in the history of man. It accords with theory, prophecy, and hope, that Christianity should reign with pre-eminent splendor in the land of Judea ; where, however, she has been chained and scorned for nearly half the Christian era. Hence, the anomalous position of England and France consists in this, that they are striving to uphold that very sovereignty, which exists in direct contravention of the rights, duties, and victories of the Christian faith. If they avowed the object of securing a due measure of influence at the breaking up of the Ottoman empire, their case would be different ; but they avow nothing of the kind. They announce their intention to admit Turkey to the European system ; a phrase which, translated out of the diplomatic dialect, means to keep the sovereignty of Turkey at all hazards, to grant to her a more formal and express recognition than has ever been given, or than Christianity has a right to give, of her claims to the fellowship of Christian nations, to surround her criminal usurpation with the bulwarks of international law. The Sublime Porte is to receive a quit-claim deed for all her outrages upon

Christendom, including that greatest of all, as regards her relation to the law of nations, the conquest of that very empire from which sprung that law of nations which is to this day the main rule of all Christian states. That is to say, the power which has made the most deadly assault known in history upon the law of nations, is to receive from it the right and title to rule for ever the empire of Justinian. Let England and France consider what they do. What devil has possessed them? They are about to overturn, if they can, the institution of Christianity as a sovereign power upon earth, and to demolish the very foundations of civil society. They are about to remove the law of nations, by a formal act, like that which voted God out of Paris, from the pedestal of Christianity. Will nothing less satisfy them than to make anarchy of faith and chaos of law?

Will the expounders of the public law in England and in France, sanction this endeavor to take from the law of nations its living spirit and leave it a corpse. This avowal of England and France is the boldest challenge ever thrown in the face of Deity, to eliminate Christianity from the organic structure of Christendom. It might, perhaps, have been expected of Julian, the apostate, but not of princes who bow the knee in homage to Christ.

The convention of 1840 may have recognized Turkey as a necessity; so far even it was wrong; but, if it justified, after a probation of fifteen years,

the reception of Turkey into the family of Christian states, it was an outrage to be repented of, not repeated. The Powers entered into a compromise then, which has given birth to greater evils than it sought to quell. The time has come for Christendom to meet manfully the question, by what right Turkish sovereignty exists. When that question is answered right, there will be peace, but not before.

All candid men, of whatever name or nation, would willingly concede that England and France should be justly represented in the restored sovereignty of the East. Probably, no nation would give a more hearty assent than Russia herself. But, if these two powers insist on throwing the ægis of the law of nations, the rule of Christendom, over the dominion of the Turks, they bar themselves from any appeal to the civil code hereafter, to restore Christian rights. They cannot legalize by the public law the rights of the Turks to rule Christians on Christian soil, and then interfere by any authority of the public law, with the relations between the Turkish rulers and their Christian subjects. Turkey cannot be "admitted to the European system," without municipal freedom; and municipal freedom in Turkey means the right to rule Christians according to the creed of Mahomet; and what that is, thirty generations of Christians have known to their heart's content. Let England and France have their will, and Turkey will be free to inflict what injuries she

likes upon her Christian subjects ; and to all complaints she will rightly answer : “ You fought for the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte, and secured it. You sanctioned it by new guaranties. We are no longer encamped in Europe, but a part of its system, and rule Asia also by virtue of the law of nations, as you have sworn. You have no right of protection over our people, of interference with our system of government. That right, if ever claimed by yourselves and acknowledged by us, has been mutually surrendered, yourselves taking the initiative. You have baptized us, without a confession of the Christian faith, into your Christian brotherhood ; and, although we care little more for your creed than our fathers did five hundred years ago, we do not object to use the advantages which you have freely given. We will now rule our subjects, Christians or not, as we shall think most pleasing to God and the prophet. If you do not like these conditions, you should have kept us out when you could.”

England and France began the war with zealous assertions about the welfare of the Christians of the East. They now talk of “ admitting Turkey to the European system,” which will place the Christians, unreservedly,—in the hands of the Turks. This is the most dangerous and alarming development of the Eastern question ; and it commends the cause of Russia more warmly than ever to the enthusiastic approval of the Christian world, since she is now

contending not only for the practical rights of the Christians of the East, but for the momentous principle of the Christian authority and sanction of the law of nations.

If it be replied that Russia has herself acceded to the principle of admitting Turkey to the European system, it may be said that, since she has not withdrawn her claims of a joint protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Sublime Porte, and no doubt eagerly desires a convention of the Christian Powers, by which the rights of the Christians of Turkey shall be placed once for all upon a sure basis, and, since she knows that this cannot be done while Turkey continues a sovereign power, it is not clear how she can admit the principle set forth by England and France, in the sense they understand it, or desire that the world should understand it, namely, that the Christians of Turkey ought to enjoy what rights they can, always provided that nothing shall be done or demanded which shall impair the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte. What declaration has Russia made that the sovereignty of Turkey is to be the basis of all conferences and negotiations, the indispensable condition of peace? The issue is plain and broad between the combatants. Russia demands the rights of Christianity in the East, whatever becomes of the Sublime Porte as a Sovereign Power; England and France demand the support of the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte, whatever becomes of the rights of Christianity. The policy of Russia supports the principle of

Christian domination either by acknowledged sovereignty, or by such a protectorate as would be essential sovereignty ; England and France disavow the principle of a protectorate, any farther than it relates to the conduct of the war. If they mean what they say and their acts confirm, they wish to acknowledge as a permanency the sovereignty of Turkey, modified only by what concessions persuasion may draw from the magnanimity of the Sublime Porte. It has been nowhere expressly set forth by the Western Allies, since the war begun, either in the discussions of the English Parliament or in the official notes of France, that the Christians of the East had any rights, as Christians. They have, indeed, professed a desire to secure immunities for the Christians by the sovereign will of the Sultan ; but they seem studiously to have avoided any declaration, bearing the shadow of an admission that the Christians of the East have any rights independent of their subjection to an invading creed and an insulting scepter.

If Russia has consented to admitting Turkey to the European system as England and France mean, of course she deserves tenfold more censure than the Western Alliance, for having put her hand to the plow and for turning back ; but it is not plain how or when Russia compromised her position, which entitles her to the approbation of Christendom, by any declaration respecting the sovereignty of Turkey as a thing to be secured at all hazards. There

is too much sagacity in Russian counsels to give any tangible confirmation of a principle directly at variance with what her friends and enemies are both agreed upon as the tendency if not the object of her policy,—the overthrow of the Sublime Porte, “a consummation devoutly to be wished.”

England and France should not stop here. After providing for the baptism of the Moslem dominion as a Christian state, they should unite in the same ecclesiastical calendar Christian saints and infidel confessors. Let his Imperial Majesty, Napoleon the Third, call a national council of the clergy of France, to take the first steps to secure the canonization at Rome of Saint Mahomet, and, in due time, when the Christian world shall be duly prepared for the surprise, of those more eminent worthies, Saint Judas Iscariot and Saint Julian the Apostate. Let my Lord Palmerston, the great Democrat in promises, the worshiper of titles in performance,—my Lord Palmerston, who in one respect, of course in one respect only, is like the devil, since he gets people into trouble by soft smiles and winning words, but will not lend them a helping hand to get out,—let my Lord Palmerston found a professorship at synthetic Oxford or at analytic Cambridge, to expound the Alcoran as a text-book of divinity for English students, and to show historically the benignities and tender mercies of Moslem domination. On the day appointed for “admitting Turkey to the European system,” and for investing her with the

insignia of a Christian state, let the Lord Chancellor of England portray the successive events of the conquest of the Greek Empire by the Turks; and to illustrate the loving kindness of the allies of Her Most Gracious Majesty and of His Imperial Majesty, and to vindicate the affectionate regard in which their valor should be held, and the applause with which its reward should be conferred, let him refer to beautiful Scio, where fifty thousand unarmed Greeks were suddenly translated by Turkish cimeters from earth to Paradise. And, if any whispers shall be heard against the right and duty of "admitting Turkey to the European system," let the Lords and Commons of England in Parliament assembled, drown all objections in the enthusiastic shout, "Scio! Scio! Scio!"

Though faith should spread her wings in grief and fly back to heaven, Almighty God can commission her to find new friends and defenders. Though England and France should fall for ever from the firmament of great nations, other stars as radiant will take their place; and Christianity, though her false upholders fall in retribution, will survive, to regenerate the world, and to vindicate the illustrious line of martyrs who have died in loyalty to Christ, to plant his spiritual kingdom, against which neither counsels of state nor the gates of hell can prevail; for the Church of the living God, sustained by Trinal Deity amidst the wrecks of empires and the storms of fate, shall conquer every foe.

CHAPTER II.

Character of the Turkish dominion. Christianity and the Balance of Power. Turkish Toleration and Nationality. Equivocal position of the Church of England. Answer to Gerald Massey's song, "England goes to Battle."

ISLAM, born from the bogs of Arabia, desolated eastern Christendom with its deadly miasma, and threatened to involve Rome herself with an effusion of death worse than any which ever exhaled from Pontine marshes. Yet it has now come to be deemed well nigh a part of organic law, that the arch-deceiver of Mecca should reign, until the final flames, over Christian Asia, Egypt, and eastern Europe.

God has otherwise decreed. As the hands of the dial, though not seen to move, measure the ages which go, laden with the records of time, to the unerring bar, so the wheels of the divine sovereignty roll surely though silently, for a living spirit is in them and they cannot stay; and they have brought the hour fraught with the fulfillment of the prophecies of both dispensations. The great northern eagle, whose wings overshadow two continents, has arisen from his eyry of ice; and as he bends south-

ward his unswerving flight towards the minarets of Constantinople, men quake at the shadow of the doom of the vulture of Mecca.

The lion of England and the eagle of France defend the vulture. Christian nations, which once sent joint armies to Palestine, to rescue the holy cities, now renounce their historic position as champions of the Cross, the source of their greatness, and in the face of heaven and of the gazing universe, crucify the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame. It is a wonder of mercy that every tower, every spire surmounted by the Cross, throughout France and the British Empire, has not been shaken to ruin by an earthquake of wrath.

This language, if it shall seem violent, is wrung from me not by hatred, but by love of the land of my fathers. Of France I shall speak with honor in another place, but here let me say, at the risk of the charge of egotism, that from my heart I wish the prosperity and glory of the British empire. The associations of English literature, of English history, of the English Church, let me even add, of English friendship, move in me a strong desire for the advancement of England in whatever is noble, magnanimous, and worthy of a Christian realm. I feel an honest grief, that England, in maintaining the Ottoman empire, is warring against her own duty, welfare, and glory. May my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, before I utter one word of malevolence towards England; but while I have strength

to speak, or to hold a pen, whether unknown or well-known, in season or out of season, in private or in public, whether men will hear or forbear, approve or censure, I will protest against the false position which Christian England this day holds before God and man.

Christian men! who daily pray for the glories of the Kingdom of Christ! whose hearts thrill with agony as you read of Jewish cruelty and scorn towards Him who is enshrined in your hearts as the purest likeness of humanity—as the express image of God! disregard the politics of the Eastern question, and consider what Mahometan power is and what it has done, before you feel or declare hopes for the success of England and France in their present course of apostacy and wrong.

The records of Mahometan power are wet with Christian tears, and red with Christian blood. They are vocal with groans of sorrow; they glare with the torch of death. The sword of Mahomet is crusted with blood. Turkish power has run riot in the very home of Christendom. She has made gory marches to exterminate the Christian name. She has desecrated the holiest places upon earth, enshrining memories which move the deepest grief and highest joy; she has torn from sacred temples the Cross, to plant in its stead the Crescent; she insults Bethlehem, Olivet, and Calvary. In Jerusalem, the Crescent rules the Cross. Islam has despised the rights of Christendom. She has planted her heel upon the

necks of Christian nations, while the sword of Mahomet has pierced their hearts. She has called Christians dogs, and has received Christian ambassadors with ignominious ceremony on the banks of the Bosphorus, where Constantine ascended the throne of the Cæsars, and where Justinian dedicated Santa Sophia to Christ.

Under the Turkish rule, Christians have daily suffered exaction, tyranny, and insult; their property, reputation, life, and faith, have been subjected to the caprice of a Moslem despot. No wonder that the Christians of the East have sunk under the cross which they have borne for centuries; the wonder is that their spirits have not been completely broken. Notwithstanding all the corruptions of Eastern Churches, during a bondage exceeding that of Egypt in rigor and length, there is a coal upon the altar of the Greek Cross, which blood cannot quench, which persecution cannot destroy. The pulse may beat languidly, and well it may, when the form has been bound, hand and foot, to the false and groveling creed and scepter of Mecca; but it beats still with the current of Christian life; and health and vigor may return, when the debasing condition shall cease. Well did Daniel Webster say, in allusion to the suffering of the Greeks, "There exists and has existed nothing like it. The world has no such misery to show; there is no case in which Christian communities can be called upon with such emphasis of appeal."

Yet, this appeal, emphatic as it is, fails to touch the hearts of those large Christian communities, the people of England and of France, whose governments join hands to keep the Christians of the East in chains, and to uphold that very empire which for a thousand years has breathed threatenings and slaughter against the Christian religion and the Christian Church. When one considers the ravages of Mahometan aggression, and looks on the bloody spectacle of the Crimea, and reflects on the Mahometan predilections prevailing in Christian lands, one may with reason fear that the False Prophet has silently won over Western Europe, if not the Western hemisphere, to his infernal standard, beneath whose bloody folds he assaulted the Church of Christ with a warrant sealed with the signet of hell. But no alliance of Christians with Turks can prevent, or long postpone, the restoration of the East. Jerusalem shall yet be glorious as the city of a greater than David, reigning by his triumphant Church. Then shall be built upon the holy mountain the Temple of a greater than Solomon.

Rome was the barrier against which the false prophet gnashed his teeth in vain. If Rome had fallen the Crescent would have ruled the world. Now, when the claims of the Roman See are so widely denied, let it be recorded to her praise, that when all Christians stood aghast at the invasions of Mahomet and his successors, she checked the assailants of Mecca, and, if she could not save Asia, Northern

Africa, and Constantinople, from their grasp, she at least kept back the Crescent from western and central Europe, and from the New World. By her energy in the hour when the fate of Christendom, as far as concerns her earthly support, hung upon the counsels of the Vatican, it may be that on this broad continent the Cross, and not the Crescent, rules from the Atlantic to the Pacific shore, from Northern to Southern Arctic ice. Who shall say that it was not the hand of God himself which nerved that sublime resistance against which the Moslem hosts foamed, like the angry sea against the barrier which it cannot pass? All glory be to that mighty arm ever present with the Church, though she fall into sins and errors, which dispelled the blackness from the sky, so that the Star of Bethlehem could follow the sun in his glorious journey from east to west!

Islam has now reached her point of destiny, to fall forever or to press with new vigor on the domain of Christ. Her Christian aid she will be sure to use, if she can, in new assaults upon the Christian faith. She lacks not the will, and myriads in Christian lands, from hatred of the Church, would gladly help to plant the Crescent which profanes the shrine of St. Sophia upon St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and Notre Dame. Yet England and France, which have the most to fear from the revival of Mahometan energy, or even from the continuance of its dominion, now act as if the only question were, whether that relative force of the governments of Europe called the

Balance of Power, which never could have existed but for the resistance of centuries to the advancing Crescent, shall be preserved or changed. Had not the Crusades concentrated the will of Christendom against the extension of Islam, there might have been now no Christian Europe to rival the disciples of Mahomet in scorn of Jerusalem and devotion to Mecca. The true points are—whether the Cross shall keep or lose its aggressive ascendancy throughout the world, and whether the tide of Christian civilization shall subside or flow back in a fertilizing flood, with all the blessings gathered in its course upon the lands now waste, from which it came, that the Rose of Sharon may bloom on Christian soil, and distil its pure fragrance in the air of Christian truth,—that the cedars of Lebanon, growing in stately beauty, may thrill responsive to the triumphant chants over the hills and valleys of Judea, restored from Moslem rule,—that the city of Constantine may be again the capital of a Christian empire,—that Christian worshipers may throng the streets of Jerusalem, as they go for adoration to temples consecrated to Him who walked in sorrow with the Cross,—that throughout Christendom the voice of gladness may resound, “Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth is Mount Zion.”

England and France obstruct this consummation. At a cost of blood which fills English and French homes with anguish, and at a cost of treasure which will spread untold suffering throughout the United

Kingdom and the empire of France,—they are striving to keep in chains millions of Christian people, and to debase that Christian system which demands perpetual recognition at their hands.

It was not so in ancient days. Then England and France were united as now, but not to keep the Moslem curse entire and inviolate. The Dark Ages were not dark enough to sustain by Christian fleets and armies Mahometan power. That deed of darkness was reserved for an Age of Light. In those ages literature may have slumbered; art may have often spent in fantastic vagaries her celestial force; but no grander epic poem was ever written than was then acted, when valiant hosts pressed forward, and royal scepters clustered together, to redeem the Holy Land. The lightning was not then as now, the Mercury of men; no swift keels, impelled by steam, plowed through unwilling seas and braved the adverse gales; there were no millions of printed leaves falling thicker than the autumnal foliage, to enrich the intellectual soil; men suffered wrong, and sorrowed then as now; but Faith, though clouded, was alive; and the Cross, the symbol of Faith, was not then as now trampled under foot in subserviency to the balance of power. O! for another Richard of the Lion Heart, to lead the power of England to the Holy Land! Come, come, Saint Louis, from thy home of bliss, to guide aright the erring monarch of imperial France!

“No, no,” cry the affrighted nations, “the ba-

lance of power! keep the balance of power." So, treachery to God and man, desecration of Christian energies, violation of historic position, contempt for the Cross and adoration of the Crescent, are all excused by the constant burden of the song, the balance of power. The spontaneous affections of Christian hearts are not consistent with the balance of power, and hence must be set at naught. Pray not for the restoration of Jerusalem, for no such prayers accord with the balance of power. Let the waste places of Turkey molder away as they have done for ages, because their renovation will disturb the balance of power. Let consecrated churches, changed into the mosques of the Infidel, remain deserted until they fall in ruin at the great dissolution, because their restoration to the Faith, for which they were built and dedicated by Christian princes, will overturn the balance of power. What Dagon is this balance of power, that it should challenge and receive the adoration of prostrate Christian sovereignties? The worship of the balance of power is political idolatry, and proceeds from the false position that an historic wrong must be indefinitely continued, and even forcibly sustained, from the fear of the convulsion of its overthrow. The longer wrong endures the greater grows the need that it shall be supplanted by the right. The more inveterate the evil, the more requisite is its eradication, however terrific. The Ottoman empire has been to the civilized world like a province of chaos in a do-

main of beauty, like a pall over the noon-day sun, like sudden discord in a strain of melody, like the plague in a city of health.

In the moldy Moslem air the lamp of learning has grown dim, and nearly has gone out, where it gleamed forth in splendor on a benighted world. Art has shaded her face, and wept among the ruins of her ancient magnificence and strength ; Christianity shines feebly where she once glowed in the heavens in her orbit of benison and grace ; Nature herself sighs in the general sorrow ; the land of plenty has become a barren waste ; bravery has been changed into ferocious aggression upon all that is beautiful and good in nature, art, religion ; womanly grace has languished in ignoble slavery ; beneath the pale and ghastly Crescent darkness has been made visible ; intelligence and energy have groped, stumbled, and fallen, finding no hand to guide, no goal to win ; the spot where angels talked with men has been thronged with fantastic shapes of infamy and gloom ; the celestial ladder from heaven to earth has given place to the infernal bridge over which malignant fiends have pressed in glee from their domain of woe, to stamp a curse on all things lovely, to transform Beauty in to Beast, to mock what is most holy and divine, to devastate the Eden of Faith, to sow with the tares of a vile and false religion God's fairest heritage on earth. And when outraged learning, art, religion, demand that this unholy transformation shall cease, that

gaunt specter the balance of power stalks in the cabinets of princes and in the public gatherings of men, and startles timid sovereigns and timid nations with its low, ghostly warning "Beware! beware!"

Whatever the balance of power may claim, Christianity demands that her triumphant course throughout the world shall not be stayed by any complications of policy. As regards the Ottoman empire, Christianity is not aggressive upon dominions which have never acknowledged her sway; she seeks but to recover her own; and even if the balance of power could be so far respected as to sanction the withholding of Christian rule from lands that have ever lain under the shadow of death, it deserves to be reprobated and defied, when it opposes the restoration to Christian sovereignty of the domain where first shone the Light of Life.

While with expansive energy Christianity accommodates herself to all national and dynastic changes, it is a folly to maintain that the welfare of any part of Christendom depends on the preservation of the Moslem sway. This is to assert that organized error is essential to the permanence of truth, that the continuance of wrong promotes the security of right. Christianity owns no such principle, and her history reveals a succession of struggles, in which her prerogatives have contended with the passions of men and the policies of states, sometimes conquering and sometimes overcome. Every bulwark that has been erected to withstand her silent march to supreme

dominion has been, sooner or later, overturned and ground to powder; and, though often cast down, she has made patient fortitude and invincible aggression the laws of her empire. Out of all convulsions, however terrific, since her reign on earth began, Christianity has ever emerged brighter and purer than before. In depression she bides her time with faith and hope; in ascendancy she does with zeal in years the work of ages.

The victory of Christianity over all the machinations of state, errors of philosophy, and heretical combinations is sure, because her origin is divine. The stream can go no higher than its source, but to that elevation it ever tends; and so, Christianity, because her origin is in heaven, is the fountain whence flow all those streams of grace which tend to exalt the human to the divine and to lift earth to heaven. Christianity has had no rest, and none will she have while time endures. Her millennial era will be one of ceaseless activity, blessing and being blessed. In the past, foes within and foes without have challenged her vigilance. Pagan amphitheatres, the rocks of the mountains, and the green valleys have been wet with the blood of her martyrs; ambition has stained the laurels of her conquerors, and dimmed the brightness of the diadems of her royal confessors. Now, she has warned her disciples of the slimy slough of materialism; and again, she has weaned them from the rarefactions of etherial Platonism. Now, she has laid a heavy hand on the

repining poor ; and again, she has brought down to the dust proud lords and boastful kings. Principalities and powers have defied her scepter ; but soon they have stood aghast at her unswerving might, and have fallen at last beneath her invincible majesty. Every age has had its peculiar enemy either to her visible reign or to her spiritual force. Her great enemy now, is the balance of power.

England and France say by their deeds, Let the city of Constantine, the sacred shrines of Asia Minor, of Syria, and of Egypt remain forever accursed by Islam, for their liberation will destroy the balance of power ; let Christianity die, only preserve the balance of power. In the spirit of the Jews of old, they exclaim “ Let him be crucified, let him be crucified ; we care not for the Prince of Life, crucify him, crucify him ; give us Barabbas, the robber of Jerusalem, and the murderer of Christians, for with him we can keep the balance of power.” Efforts in any age, but especially in this when the summits of the mountains are all bright with the glory of the coming day,—efforts to sustain the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire, the chief barrier to the final triumphs of the Christian faith, should rather have proceeded from the council-chamber of the Prince of Darkness, than from the cabinet of any Christian sovereign. Sacrilege, desecration, ingratitude, ignominy, are henceforth useless words : their combined meaning is given in the balance of power. The balance of power is the Judas Iscariot

of this dispensation ; let it go, like Judas, to its own place.

But, it is said in defence of Mahometan dominion, that the Sublime Porte tolerates Christianity. Aye ! toleration ! toleration ! Christianity tolerated in the land of her birth, where she should reign supreme ! Christians allowed by special favor of an infidel prince to worship God in Christ upon the very soil where the Gospel of mercy was first proclaimed to mankind, where the Christian religion first held the scepter of power ! What pusillanimity is this of Christian people, to be content with the toleration of their religion in its very home, by the disciples of Mahomet ? Christianity demands not favors, but rights ; not toleration, but sovereignty. Toleration is the badge of the vassal, not the birth-right of the freeman. Christianity is divine, and hence, her prerogative is to rule the world ; and although in Pagan lands she may accept toleration, and hold her claims for dominion in abeyance, yet when she has once established her authority, as the sovereign law, her claims at once receive the seal of perpetual right, which cannot be disavowed or rejected until the day of doom. To deny this position, is to deny the divine origin of Christianity. From the accession of Constantine the Great, Christianity acquired a right over all the dominions then comprised within the Roman empire, which cannot be alienated until the sun shall be blotted out and the elements shall melt with fervent heat.

Consequently the phrase, the sovereign rights of the Sublime Porte, is absolutely without meaning. The Sublime Porte has no sovereign rights. The Ottoman empire is an hereditary aggression upon the law of nations, having never had any other title to be treated as an independent sovereignty, than the terror of Christendom in the days of its ascendancy, or the sufferance of Christendom in the days of its decline. The law of nations has not required that the ambassadors of Christian states should be treated as subject menials at the Sublime Porte, in the very city where the cross first became the signet of empire. The organic law of the Moslem domination would justify the same abuses and indignities being now offered to the representatives of Christian powers, which they have endured for nearly four centuries. The Ottoman empire has made concessions of policy; it has never abrogated for conscience' sake one of its infernal assumptions. It is needful to be reminded of identical propositions. The Turks, at heart are still Turks. Why will Christian nations permit the continuance of this organized violation of the law of nations, on the specious plea that it tolerates the Christian faith, when that toleration itself is but a stipulation in words by the government, as likely to be disobeyed as kept by the acts of the people, and is itself opposed to the spirit and letter of the Moslem creed, and is granted only on compulsion or the fear of it? Duration cannot change wrong to right. The Sultan of Turkey

has no more right to reign at Constantinople, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, than he has to reign at St. Petersburg, London, Paris, or Washington.

Liberty and nationality are words too precious to be applied to Turkey ; for the liberty of the Ottoman empire, since it was first founded in despite of the blood and tears of Christendom, has been the liberty to oppress Christians, to rob them of sovereign rights, and to grant them as few privileges as would prevent them from open and constant rebellion, to make them dependent on the will of a despot, bound by his creed and the law of his empire to hate them and their religion. Turkish nationality, for which some people plead with strangely distorted sympathies,—Turkish nationality has been soaked in Christian blood.

In defence of such liberty and of such nationality, to save from merited destruction the Ottoman empire, Christian England and Christian France send their united forces by sea and land ; and so thousands of brave men must bleed, fighting against the rights of that religion on which rest their hopes of heaven ; and thousands must mourn for manly hearts that beat no more, with this reflection piercing their grief, that those whom they loved, died in obedience to the Mahometan policy of Christian rulers, in support of the desolating sway beneath whose iron yoke generations after generations of Christians have lived in sorrow, seeing the historic shrines of their faith, consecrated to the service of

Christ, defiled by the rites of Mecca, and died at last like outcasts and aliens on the land once pressed by their Saviour's feet, or in regions where the rocks and hills once echoed with the voice of Paul, or where the serene philosophy of the Gospel discoursed seraphic music from the lips of the beloved disciple. And all this occurs, when the firm, united demand of the Christian powers might possibly have secured the surrender of the Mahometan sovereignty without the shedding of a drop of blood.

France may have, if not a reason, an excuse, because she is the champion of the Church of Rome, whose claims to supremacy may be put in peril by the revival of the Greek communion; but, for England, which should see in the Greek Church, liberated from Turkish thraldom, her surest ally against the Latin usurpation—her position is, in ecclesiastical respects at least, an inexplicable anomaly.

Hence, the members of the Church of England must be reconciled to the feelings of dismay growing daily deeper and wider in the Anglo-American Church, at the subjection of the Reformed Catholicity of England, not merely to the state at home, but to the imperial counsels of France, in support of the very supremacy in the East and West, which she renounced three centuries ago. This is a double bondage, which will yet awake profound sorrow throughout the Church of England, though, probably, too late to avoid pervading changes in the British empire, which will be imperative to secure the just

position of England among the nations of the world. England may be too vigorous to be utterly ruined ; but she is not strong enough to err with impunity. Was the reception lately given to his Imperial Majesty, Napoleon the Third, a mark of the national return to the Roman allegiance ? Or, perhaps, the pious cabinet of England has been seized with conscientious scruples about the alienation of religious property by Henry the Eighth, and has determined to make amends for that spoliation by sending the flower of the English army to the East, and by expending millions of treasure, in support of the claims of the Roman Church to be the special proprietor of Jerusalem. If so, it seems hard that the whole people of England should be obliged to make restitution for injuries inflicted by a willful king, the advantages of which are to this day enjoyed by descendants of royal favorites. A large share of the fund should come from the revenues of families who now enjoy the fruits of Harry's spoliation. The use of the public treasury for private restitution may be very convenient, though the doctors of casuistry might be puzzled how to justify it at the Court of Conscience.

If his Holiness at Rome really prefers that the Turks should rule in the East, than that the Greek Church should be reformed, enlightened, and free, it is a very sad thing indeed, that, by the subtlety of his faithful friend at the Tuileries, he should have brought the Church of England to be of the same mind.

The Anglo-American Church feels for her English mother an affection immeasurable, ineffaceable. Conscious of her adaptation to the energies of a new Republic, she rejoices to know that the same prayers in which Jeremy Taylor and George Herbert worshiped God, may be uttered beneath Gothic arches in cities of the New World, and in log-cabin churches on the edges of Western prairies and on the banks of rivers in Oregon. She feels the full weight of her commission to make her presence and her influence felt to the utmost bounds of Anglo-Saxon civilization on the Western Hemisphere; and she lives and labors in the hope to see all who speak the English tongue gathered in her fold, from the surges of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific, from the icy bulwarks of the North to the palmy groves of the South. Her constitution, like that of the Republic, is capable of indefinite application; and her free legislation gives her the power to follow up, with close steps, the growth of the Republic. Electing her own officers, and yet acknowledging them as endowed with Apostolic sanction, she unites in harmony the spirit of Christian democracy with the divine right of ecclesiastical power. She longs to see the doors of English Convocation open, to provide for the spiritual welfare of the British empire with as little hindrance, from any source, as the English Parliament meets in conducting civil legislation.

The unity of spirit, notwithstanding the division of form, occasions extreme solicitude in the Ameri-

can Church regarding the position of the Church of England. The simple truth may as well be spoken as concealed. A very large proportion of those Americans who have most cordially sympathized, of late years, with the assiduous movement in England to revive the spirit and religious culture of a pure catholicity, have great anxiety lest the Church of England shall be found occupying equivocal ground on the great question between the permanence of Mahometan power and the restoration of Christian sovereignty in the East. O, Catholic Christians of the Church of England! many a heart that has been moved by the accumulated trials, discouragements, and desertions which you have met in contending courageously against the materialism and secular philosophy which have so long and so successfully warred against the energy and usefulness of the Anglo-Catholic communion, is now beating with fear, lest you should fail to stand boldly, and having done all to stand, against the false policy of that beloved England, for whom many lips here offer frequent supplication, though they may be closed against any response for success in wars to uphold the Turkish dominion in any way for any reason. You cannot doubt the sincerity of your western friends, who, standing aloof from the secondary marks of the Eastern question, have, perhaps, a clearer vision for its main points. Believe them, when they say, that much as they desire to see the British empire arising from glory to glory, much as

they desire to see the Church of England grow purer, stronger, greater, and more truly catholic than ever, they feel a grief in proportion to their affection, in seeing England, the hope of Christendom, perverting her consecrated energies, forswearing her history, her martyrs, and her creed, in fighting the battles of Mahomet and Rome. The terrible shadows of that gigantic phantom, the balance of power, reach not this continent, to blast Christian hopes and to wither Christian vigor. Receive, then, the suggestion, offered in sincere friendship, by one who, while having no enmity to the cause of Russia, desires to see England do her duty in the East, for a joint convention of representatives of the Church of England and the American Church, to consider in what way the interests of Anglo-Saxon catholicity may be promoted in the East, and to see if any common ground can be established by which an appeal can be made to both Anglo-Saxon empires to secure the rights of Christianity in the East.

Certainly, America will take no part in the present question, which shall tend in any way to prolong the sovereignty of Turkey. America would have rejoiced if the dream of Napoleon the Great, of establishing an empire in the East, had been fulfilled; and, although it failed, its main advantages might have been afterwards secured by an alliance between France, England, and Russia; but the infatuated hostility of England to Napoleon, which led to the reckless waste of resources which would

have been a thousand times better expended in sustaining the French empire, and which had the crowning injury at Waterloo, a field quite as disastrous to the people of England as to the people of France,—this hostility shut the door against any union with Napoleon of France and Alexander of Russia in the restoration of the East, and has preserved the Ottoman empire for fifty years longer, a curse to the world. Napoleon the First and Alexander the First, in overturning the dominion of the Turks would have interfered with no nationalities which were worth preserving; and they would have received the applause of ages as the restorers of the East. There is now another Alexander on the throne of Russia; and, even if another Napoleon chooses to follow the error of the first, England is not obliged to commit the error of using against Russia the energies which she exhausted in union with Russia against France. England has a peculiar duty in the East; and this she can better accomplish with the friendship of Russia than without it. The sundering of the friendly relations of Russia and England is an ill sign for the civil, social, and religious regeneration of Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia. America has faith in national energies, no faith in sustaining corrupt governments. In the case of Turkey, she feels that it accords with the nature of man, that power unrighteously held is more likely to be vexatiously used at its decline than at its height. If the sovereignty of Turkey be sustained,

the Christians may suffer a thousand annoyances which, small in themselves, may bring an aggregate of insult as hard to bear as the outrages of Moslem history in other days. It is amazing to see the means of influence used in England to inflame enthusiasm for such an object as the preservation of the Ottoman empire. Without the aid of glasses covered with the vapors of the balance of power, such false enthusiasm appears like what it is—infatuation. There are many Americans who know not what to make of it. There is no intimation that the pulpit utters any protest. The statesmen of Great Britain either support the war boldly, or dissent timidly from some of its manifestations; but hardly a whisper is heard against its principles. There are, indeed, two or three statesmen who have preserved their senses in the general madness; but they do not speak out in the tone which would most please those whose sympathies are strongly with the church of England. One of these is Richard Cobden, a man of noble precedents and of nobler hopes; and did he insist strenuously on the point of Christian duty, there would be little more to desire in his protestations at the present stage of opposition to ministerial policies. The English press is nearly unanimous in approving this contradictory, blasphemous war. All the sources of moral power seem to be under the same unholy hallucination.

American directness is, perhaps, at fault, but there is more than one American who is completely

bewildered in trying to find a just cause for this war against Russia. Is it because Russia sought to protect the Eastern Christians? But ought they not to be protected? Or is it because Russia is ambitious to take Constantinople? Very strange it is that she has not taken it before; but what if she is now in earnest, and means to make up lost time? Why prevent her? The sooner she takes Constantinople the better, not only for herself, but for Turkey, England, France, and the whole world. The poets of England, with strange forgetfulness, tune their harps to accord with the Moslem policy of the government. One of these, who has charmed his own countrymen, and many in this land, with his strains of modest vigor, Gerald Massey, has joined in the general chorus of satisfaction. In a song entitled, "England goes to Battle," he has mingled striking incongruities of sentiment as a Christian poet with marked melodies of expression. Let an American venture to reply to this war-song.

Yes, "England to the battle goes,"
With loud acclaim and pompous might;
But, Glory's laurel only grows
On fields of war well fought for right.
The Red Cross banner once was borne
By Christian armies, sent to save
The Holy Land by Moslems torn,
Who trampled on the Savior's grave.
The Red Cross banner, as it floats,
Now in its folds dishonor bears,
While weeping Faith with anguish notes
Its falsehood to the sign it wears.

If not one English Abdiel bold
Her Moslem counsels dare assail,
If priests their warning voice withhold,
And let the Crescent's might prevail,
And e'en in holy chancels bend
Before the Cross of Majesty,
In prayers that Heaven will victory send
To swords of shame and treachery ;
If from the Faith and Cross depart
All England's hosts of living men,—
Let Richard of the Lion Heart
Rise up and take his crown again.

Yes, "England to the battle goes,"
Onward her strong battalions press ;
Great navies glide where the Euxine flows ;
War glares in the rough wilderness ;
And why?—these English Christians fight
To keep their fellow-Christians chained,
Who, through the long and dreary night
Have mourned and wept while Moslems reigned.
The Crescent and the Cross unfold
Their banners in the Eastern sky,
Like Romans and the Jews of old,
Christ in his Church to crucify.

England! is this the thankful praise
The glories of thy Faith inspire?
Was it for this, the deadly blaze
Thy martyrs wrapped in shrouds of fire?
If so, boast on, and louder still
Thy power assert, and scorn to fear;
Yet know, there is a mightier will
Than thine, which rules in heaven and here.
England! complete thy work of shame;
Renounce in Parliamentary halls,
By formal vote, the Christian name,
Then rear the Crescent on St. Paul's.

England! full many a soldier brave,
Fighting for thee against his Lord,
Will sink beside the Euxine's wave.
Such deaths the angels will record
Against thee at the Court Sublime,
Where realms and sovereigns soon will hear
Faithfully read the Book of Time.
The haughtiest now, will quake with fear.
England! press on, disdain alarms,
In swords and wooden walls take pride;
No glory waits on English arms
In wars against the Crucified.

CHAPTER III.

Russia and Constantinople. The false philosophy and false politics of the Western Alliance. The death of Nicholas.

CHRISTIAN duty is paralyzed by the fear of the growth of Russia. England and France dread Russia more than they love Christianity. They avow by their position that it is better that the Ottoman empire should last until the day of doom, rather than that Russia should have a share in its restoration to Christian rule. This position is false philosophy, false politics, false religion. It is false philosophy, because what benefits a part must benefit the whole. The greater welfare of the obscurest citizen of any commonwealth, however small, adds something more, according to its measure, to the welfare of his State, and through that to the welfare of the world. The remotest island of the South Pacific, in proportion as it feels the appliances of civilization, is felt so much the more at the great centers of intelligence and power,—as the smallest vein in the human frame, according to the vigor of health feels and is felt by the action of the heart. If industry and energy are of more value to the community than indolence and lethargy, as regards

a single member of society, how much more true is it in respect of a nation! The overthrow of the Ottoman empire cannot be an exclusive advantage to any one nation; it must give new life to the whole world. No supposed advantage will justify wanton conquest; yet, when deplorable evils have been caused by desolating aggression, under whatever auspices the work of destruction may be stayed, and the decayed sources of power revived, it becomes the observer of events to rejoice at the object fulfilled without wasting regrets that it was done by one rather than by another. National preferences may be safely indulged, and even sustained by honorable means; but to resist by force the performance of any thing so deserved by centuries of insult, and so requisite for the expansion of the energies of Christendom, as is the complete downfall of the Ottoman empire,—to resist such a blessing to humanity and to the Christian church, because secured in part by the action of a dominion already powerful,—is a work performed in entire forgetfulness of the great law of international economy, in the execution of which counsels of state and legal enactments are but instruments, which an invisible hand may turn against the wisest counselors and legislators, or wield invincibly to the fulfillment of the purposes of the Omniscient King,—of the Supreme Lawgiver. The laws of human need, of the diffusion of knowledge, of industry and progress, guided, not bent by legislature, do more to fix the

relative position of nations than the most gigantic efforts by arms to enforce determinate policies.

The waste of Christian energies will ever prove more disastrous to any state than the advancement of any other can be, which it is sought to obstruct by the use of those energies. Positive acts alone aid the well-being of an empire, in power, wealth, or honor ; and any direction of resources in securing positive benefits will be compensated at their harvest, for which the labor was expended and the heat endured ; but acts proceeding from national envy are sure to bring greater disasters than they seek to prevent. Envy is the most repulsive of human passions, because negative ; it has no brilliancy or honor, false or true, to relieve its grossness. Envy mourns because others do things great or good ; and, if it moves beyond the sphere of emotion to the field of action, and strives to ruin what it cannot excel, it falls into its own snare, and is poisoned by its own venom. Individuals have been often brought to ruin by anxious labors to break down the fair advantages of others, who seemed to stand in their way of success, when their hopes of prosperity would have culminated by ingenuous efforts for their own just good. Envy may ruin nations as well as individuals. Envy may ruin England without humbling Russia.

By a preventive, that is, in this case an envious and jealous policy, England and France are doing a double injury. They are striving to sustain a foul

domination, under which what is holiest and best languishes; and they have shared largely in the evils which it has caused to the world, and they must continue to share in them as long as they endure. They are engaged not in doing, but in preventing Russia from doing, what, abstractly considered, independently of political expediences, they would acknowledge ought to be done. If positive policies alone improve a State, envious policies, because negative, find their complement in a crowd of positive evils, the greatest of which may be transient success, because the most alluring and deceptive. If the Western powers prevail, they will suffer a thousand-fold greater injury than good from the continuance of the Ottoman empire, whose gigantic shadow of death has fallen on the fairest portions of the earth, which but wait for the vigorous energies of Christian civilization to become again gardens of joy and abodes of peace and blessedness; if they fail, not even gratified pride will exist as a recompense for the most lavish waste and unhallowed application of consecrated resources ever made in their history, for the hosts of brave men who must be sacrificed upon the altars of their criminal envy, for the bleeding hearts which no counsels of state can cure.

If the destinies of nations were in their own keeping; if governments could grow great and strong in defiance of time, change, and eternity, political jealousy might often be defended with reason; but no

nation, however great or powerful, can retain its greatness or its power but in conscious or unconscious obedience to a law against which scepters contend in vain. That law is the "Divinity that shapes our ends." Struggling races may advance in organic political and religious life, under the protection of great empires; but if those empires become hindrances instead of guides in the great march of mankind, they crumble and fall, and new combinations arising from the ashes of ruined states press on the chariot of human destiny according to the will of Him who rules the Universe of suns and stars, and notes each falling leaf, and hears the glad lark, as she soaring sings her morning chaunt. Political assimilations and dynastic extensions would be less feared for their ultimate results, were it but heeded that God rules, and man, whether he will or not, obeys, and that the most glorious empires may be broken when they fail in allegiance to the King of Kings.

Neither human infirmity nor imperial ambition affords just grounds for avowed exertions to prevent the downfall of evil. In the great question of the day, the point is not how strong will this power grow, or how weak that, but how shall a great historic wrong be rectified. Truth loses her celestial armor when she forms alliances with error; and if she means to betray error by such unnatural friendship, she is no longer truth but treachery; and it would be better for the right not to form unions with

wrong, from which there can be no escape but by betraying itself or its friends. Better an open than an secret enemy; better angry threats and angry blows than polite deceit and winning treachery. If the Western alliance with Turkey is sincere, it is abhorrent to Christianity; if it is not sincere, it is a violation of natural religion. The end does not justify the means; but if Russia be in any fault in this respect, the Western powers are in a greater fault; for in preserving the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire the means and the end are both outrageous; and if it be a question in casuistry whether or not Christian governments have the right to correct an hereditary injury by arms, it is a deeper question still whether or not they are justified in preserving wrong by force.

The course of the Western powers is not only false philosophy, but false politics. A glance at the map of Europe and brief reflection on the laws of national life will dissipate the fear that the absorption by Russia of Turkey in Europe will advance irresponsible despotism. The essential quality of despotism is isolation. To be a despot a man must draw within himself the attributes of sovereignty either by manifest force or by that personal fascination which may clothe a rod of iron with velvet. The man whose will is the public rule must stand by himself, either by the strength of his armies or by the force of popular affection. He must be the

personation of a strong will, of intellectual ascendancy, of a great principle, or of an attractive ideal. What is true of men who make their wills the sources of law, is true also of nations which obey such men. There must be something in their condition, in their distinctive characteristics, in their modes of national expression, in their social, civil, or religious organizations, which keeps them apart from other nations by broader marks of separation than differences of speech or manners. As soon as any influence from without or any expansive force from within disturbs the elements of that isolation, so soon, though very imperceptibly it may be, the condition begins to decline on which alone despotic power can rest. The Cæsars ruled Rome while Rome ruled the world, but when that proud isolation ceased, the rigor of absolute power declined. China and Japan are instances of isolation arising from a theory of governments of which separation is the substantial life, and of which exclusive laws and customs are the manifestation. France, within the present century has endured absolute power, restrained by imperfect constitutional immunities, because Napoleon the Great was France and France was Napoleon. The emperor was the personation of French ambition, of French glory, of French energy, of French progress. If he were selfish, it was because he deemed himself France incarnate. The Bourbon king could say, as expressing a theory, "I am the

State," but Napoleon only could say so as describing the fact of the domination of France committed to his hands by universal suffrage.

Russia is despotic not more by policy than by geographical position. Bounded on all sides by absolute power or its tendencies, she can defy constitutional influences. Her empire, vast as it is, is out of the track of travelers. None visit Russia by chance. They must go on purpose. Russia affords no wayside where the seeds of constitutional guaranties may be sown, some to die, and others to spring up and bear fruit a hundredfold. No man sees the policy of Russia. Her wheels of state are moved by an invisible hand. The world is not more amazed by the energy of Russia than by the way in which the secret springs of her political machinery are touched. The purposes of Russia, cherished for years, are carefully kept from the view of mankind until they burst forth at once into "the consummate flower" of instant resolution. She allows the world no time to become familiar with her designs before they become ripe for fulfillment. Hence, her sagacity is derided as frenzy, and her deliberation is denounced as madness. It is only because the practical energy of Russia is so great, compared with her unwieldy compass, that she escapes ridicule as being bent on wild vagaries and eccentric visions; for, while a weak theorist may be called a fool, the man as bold in action as in thought alone is derided as mad.

Before proceeding further to illustrate this truth of isolation being the germ of absolute power, let a brief allusion be made to the charge of insanity brought by the English press against Russia. English journals speak in hope of "the return of sanity to the councils of Russia," as though it had long since departed. What are the signs of Russian madness? Is it madness to insist upon treaties being kept by a power with whom it is an act of gracious condescension on the part of any Christian power to make treaties at all? Is it madness to defend the rights of those who are of the same religion as ourselves, when those rights are studiously evaded in practice, however acknowledged, not freely but by diplomatic constraint, in words? Was it madness in Oliver Cromwell to be determined to help the persecuted Protestants of Piedmont, or was it any thing more than the extravagance of an honorable indignation, when he avowed that he would render aid, if he had to send a fleet over the Alps? And is it madness in the emperor of Russia to stand by the prerogatives of the Greek Christians of the Ottoman empire, never alienated, although subdued by an infidel usurpation? It is not madness to insist upon the rights of the Greek Church on the soil of the Eastern Empire, even though their full enjoyment cannot be secured except by the complete and irrevocable downfall of the Sublime Porte. "Let justice be done, though the heavens fall." Let Christianity rule trium-

phantly on earth, though every dominion crumble to ruin.

Besides, the minds of insane people are full of incongruous ideas. The law of association is completely overturned. Their figures of speech are distorted; their phrases are incoherent and disconnected; their dress is fantastic; their language is frivolous at solemn times; their whole bearing is disordered. Judged by these tokens, England is, at this juncture, more insane than Russia. What idea more incongruous than Christian support of a throne founded on the imposture of Mecca? What figures of speech more distorted than those in which a war is called holy and just, which is waged for a power unholy and unjust, and which lacked not the will to exterminate that incarnation of holiness and justice the Christian Religion? What phrases more disconnected than those which associate religious duty with the giving of the right hand of fellowship to the False Prophet, which express equal devotion to Jerusalem and Mecca? What dress more fantastic than that adorned with the Cross, the symbol of faith, and the Crescent, the sign of unbelief? What behavior more unseemly than the frivolous wit of English ministers of the crown in dismissing an expedition designed to fight in behalf of the enemies of the Christian Faith, but which so signally failed of its pompous design as to excite derision instead of terror in those against whom it was sent, and foreboding instead of complacency in its friends and supporters?

Russia may be mad ; but there is much method in her madness. The contrivers of the expeditions against Cronstadt and Sebastopol may be wise ; but from the event one may judge that they were quite as wise in their own conceit as in counting the cost. Of what greater irreverence was insanity ever unconsciously guilty than in praying for the blessing of God upon efforts made to sustain the hereditary enemy of Christian civilization ? Let the journals of England restore sanity to the councils of St. James before they prescribe for St. Petersburg.

The isolating wall which makes Russia almost of necessity despotic, must be broken down by her free access to the Mediterranean. Terror is excited by the growth of Russia, as that of a barbaric empire ; but were the barbaric elements of her civil and social constitution tenfold greater than her enemies assert, her very extension to the broad and free Mediterranean, introducing her to the whole world and the whole world to her, must eventually decrease those characteristics which cause dread. The history of Russia has been marked by a ready application to her wants of the practical inventions of other nations. She has received with warm favor the projectors of new modes of vigor and convenience for the conduct of industry, and for the adaptation of national resources to the general prosperity. The man of sagacious insight into the modes of developing national greatness, especially in the complicated and various ways of trade and manufac-

tures, from whatever country he may have come, or born under whatever system of government, has ever been welcome at St. Petersburg, from Peter the Great to Alexander the Second ; and this characteristic has been worthy of the successors of him who put his royal claims in abeyance that, seeing with his own eyes and working with his own hands, he might gain from abroad practical knowledge to direct the industry of his own rising empire.

But, while the practical arts in Russia have been often guided by citizens of other countries, the stern isolation of Russian policy, depending upon natural situation, has defied any general introduction of political ideas from without. Absolute power has remained there unshaken, and so it will remain as long as the wall of separation stands firm ; and this will stand, and grow stronger rather than weaker, as long as the limits of Russia, great as they are, forbid the facilities of foreign communication, which, more than all edicts or revolutions, control forms of government and international relations. The policy which keeps St. Petersburg aloof and apart as a national capital accords with the geographical law, which nations obey without intention ; but where the world must go, it will go ; when great capitals are needed not as centers of domestic policy alone, but for international advantage and expansion, they always spring up in the right places and at the right times, either by settlements entirely new or by new vigor applied to decayed cities and regions.

Constantinople, as the capital of the Russian empire, could no more be a bulwark of irresponsible despotism, or an exclusive source of Russian aggrandizement, than either of the planets, the largest or the smallest, which walk in majesty around the sun, could appropriate its light and heat. Constantinople is the sun of eastern Europe, which for ages enjoyed the brightness of its glory; but, four centuries ago, after a long decline that sun set sadly in the Pagan night; and in the cold, dark, Moslem air, the arts of life and the Christian graces have withered and drooped; but the sky is gray with the approaching dawn; and the glorious sun will soon spring up in glory, dispel the shadows of four hundred years, give radiance to the scepter of a new Constantine, and spread beneficence not only over Russia, but over every land within the circle of its beams.

The distortion of Christian energies on the part of the Western Allies is excused by the declared necessity of keeping Russia out of Constantinople, the very consummation which will inevitably assimilate Russia, so far as is desirable, to the rest of Christendom, and by expanding her commercial relations, will reduce the military characteristic of her government, which is one of the sources of European terror. The military element in Russian politics, which is not hers peculiarly, but which has marked every powerful nation on earth, at a certain stage, since the beginning of time,—that military ele-

ment will be consolidated, not weakened, by the success of the Allies, which, though it should postpone, cannot destroy the due measure of Slavonic influence in the world, and will but invigorate and nurse it for more decisive victories to come. The defeats of rising empires always issue in redoubled victories, a solemn truth, which England and France should take to heart, lest in fighting for the balance of power, they find themselves fighting not only for a shadow, but the shadow of death. The elements which compose the empire of France and England have long since reached their consolidation, though each may enjoy ages of splendor; but their defeats could not be easily repaired, for they must be positive losses; but the Russian empire is in a state of formation, the elastic materials are assuming shape, and, consequently, defeat which would be irreparable to mature nations, but exercise her resources and inspire new energy and direction. The youth may encounter with impunity exertion which would palsy the man of years. In the present stage of Russian growth, the loss of a Russian army is the loss of itself alone; the loss of an English army brings fourfold disaster.

The four powers might have made peace upon their own terms, accepted by Russia; and that Convention which was more than the Ottoman empire had a right to expect,—for her very existence as a sovereign power is a matter of sufferance,—would have put to flight, for the present at least, the hopes

of the Russian people. This term is used advisedly ; for if ambition be the ruling motive of Russia, it is ambition not of the czar alone, but of the Russian people, whose absorbing and enthusiastic zeal could not be sustained by a mere dynastic quarrel. There is a public spirit in the most absolute states, which even despots cannot safely disregard ; and it is that, more than her military organization, which impels and confirms Russia in her advances towards the city of Constantine.

There is no evidence before the world that, at the beginning of the Eastern question in its present shape, the czar of Russia was bent on an immediate effort to restore Constantinople to Christian rule. There is evidence that he was willing, even if he cherished that ultimate design, to bide his time and forego his purpose for the sake of peace in Europe ; and that evidence is his acceptance of the note of the Four Powers, which merely confirmed as privileges what belonged to the Christian subjects of Turkey as rights, and granted to the sultan the continuance of his sovereignty at Constantinople, to which he had no right, as his predecessors had none. The Sublime Porte having disdained to accept terms which were themselves a surrender of the absolute rights of Christianity for the sake of preserving peace, a manifestation as great as any which history affords of a willingness to make concessions of harmony instead of demanding strict justice,—the Five Christian Powers had but one course left to pursue

in accordance with the prerogatives of the Christian Religion; and that was to demand, in vindication of Christianity and of Christian people in the East, for so many ages dishonored, insulted, and oppressed upon Christian soil, the immediate, entire, and irrevocable surrender of Mahometan sovereignty in Europe, Asia, Africa.

To the shame of Christendom, this course was rejected, even if thought of, by England and France; who, it is to be feared from subsequent events, may have instigated the Sublime Porte to reject the very conditions which they had themselves aided to form and to propose, and which conditions were at once accepted by Russia. Accordingly, the responsibility of the war in the East, as now proceeding, rests upon England and France. They are the priests engaged in offering the sacrifice of Christian blood upon the altar of Mahomet, who with his successors sought to exterminate Christianity by fire and sword. Christian England and Christian France, in a war unavailing except for their own dishonor, already darkened by defeat and the shadows of greater humiliation in store, are filling with tears and sadness Christian homes upon the Caledonian hills, in the Emerald isle, near the busy Thames and the lonely lakes, upon the banks of the sunny Rhone and mournful Seine. May God forgive their cruel policy, which dooms to an inglorious death so many of the noble and the brave, the manly peasant from his rural cot, the eager youth from ducal halls! Like those who

pierced the Saviour's side, they know not what they do.

If the purposes of Russia have assumed a new shape from the perversity of England and France, these nations have but themselves to blame, for they might have kept Constantinople for half a century longer in the hands of the Turks, if they had deemed it essential to the welfare of the world; for it is hardly to be supposed, that Turkey would have resisted the terms of the Five Powers, had she been distinctly assured, as she should have been, that those terms were the ultimatum of Christendom, as represented by the chief powers, to the Mahometan empire.

The emperor of Russia declared that he had no design upon the sovereignty of Turkey, but only a determination to be reinstated in good faith as the protector of the religious rights of the Greek Christians, as he had been acknowledged to be. If this protectorate was hostile to "the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire," it was so long before the present Eastern question begun; and if it be a cause of war now, it was equally so when the demand was first made and conceded.

The diplomatic history of the Eastern question, and the events of the war, have shown that Russia, so far from being eager to enter at once on an aggression upon Turkey, was taken by surprise by the necessity of making such movements as should prove that she was not to be trifled with by the Sublime

Porte, or intimidated by Christian Europe. The course of the Western Allies has brought Russia to this point; and had she brought it about by her own action, instead of its being caused by the infatuation of her enemies, it would have been a new laurel of Russian sagacity and foresight. The point is this, that the conduct of the Allies has freed Russia entirely from the binding force of all declarations and disclaimers, made in good faith during the progress of the negotiations, respecting any advance upon Constantinople, or attack upon the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte. England and France have acted as the pioneers of Russia in the very design which they seek to prevent by force. They have cleared obstructions from the road, leveled the hills of difficulty, and filled up the valleys of policy; and while with one hand they grasp Russia in attack, with the other they point the way to Constantinople. The diplomatic knot which Russia might have found it hard to untie, has been cut by the sword of infatuated England and France. The road is now open to Constantinople; brave feet will walk in it, and brave arms will win the goal. The crown of the sultan is as surely gone as if he were already an exile in Mecca. The Russian people are thoroughly excited and aroused to the magnitude of the new issues of the war; the czar must go forward or fall; he is released by the action of the Allies from any acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Turkey whatsoever, and has no valid bar in conscience,

equity, or international law from tearing with his own hand the infamous crescent from the minarets of St. Sophia, and from dedicating that temple anew to the worship of God in Christ. Whatever Nicholas may have been at the outset of the Eastern question, Alexander is now the personation of the Russian will,—less a ruler than an agent and representative of his people,—and his own dynasty is in peril if he shall fail to reach Constantinople in victory.

The British isles are all seaport; yet the energies of the United Kingdom are strained to the utmost to keep Russia back from the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the natural limit of her territory; and France, having open ports upon the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, expends her multiplied resources in a vain endeavor to keep Russia out of Constantinople, which port would no more make her the complete master of the Mediterranean than Gibraltar and Malta have made England such, or than Algiers can make France such, even when combined with her future prize of Alexandria. It is but just that the three progressive sovereignties of Europe should be represented in the Mediterranean. If there be any thing but an idle phantom in the balance of power, it is as good a plea for Russia as for England and France. What right have the Western Allies acquired so ingenuous and unquestionable to the entire control of the classic sea of the world, that no colors can be spread to the

breeze beneath her soft, perpetual blue, but at their sovereign will? Is the title to Gibraltar as immaculate as the record of an angel's orisons? England cries like Brutus, that Russia is ambitious, and so grapples in conflict; but who made England the universal censor of morals, the Cato of mankind, armed with the sword of Brutus? Yet Brutus was ambitious as well as Cæsar, and envy quite as much as love of Rome sped the fatal point which slew the friend of the people though the enemy of the nobles of Rome. Feudal influence on the opinions of mankind may in part account for the association about Brutus as the liberator of Rome; yet whatever may have been the faults or even the crimes of Cæsar, Brutus killed him not for the general good, but to restore Patrician prerogatives. The Roman liberty which won the hearts and daggers of Brutus and Cassius was the liberty of ruling Rome by the will of an oligarchy.

Where is found the international statute by virtue of which England sits in judgment over all the affairs of men, and by which she seeks to enforce her decrees upon a subject world? England claims to be Protestant in religion; but has she abjured the Roman creed and renounced the allegiance of the pope, to substitute for herself a Papal Supremacy over the politics of the globe? If Russia be ambitious, has England no ambition? Let British statesmen examine their colonial history; and if, in surveying the records of their East India conquests,

they find that, in any single instance, the East India Company or the English government had as just a right for entering upon a war which ended in annexing any of the provinces of India to the domain of the British crown, as Russia had for her demonstration against the Sublime Porte, then let those statesmen rise in their places in Parliament, and with faces glowing with the angelic light of conscious innocence, urge England to check Russia at all hazards, and to take Sebastopol as soon as possible; but if they rise from the fresh perusal of their East India records with faces crimson with shame, let them remember that, in the case of nations as of individuals, he only who is without sin may cast the first stone. To a strange point, indeed, events have come; if English aggrandizement, the world over, is alone the work of Divine Providence, and the growth of any other nation in the East or the West, the unpardonable sin of international law, to be punished by the virtuous indignation of English fleets and armies.

France! Napoleonic France, how saintly it is in her to fight for the balance of power! Did Napoleon's dream of universal empire, and his efforts to build that grand castle in the air on earth, have no tendency to disturb that mutual relation of states called the balance of power? Was it perfectly right that the Eagles of France should perch in victory over Spain, Italy, and Germany; and is it per-

fectly wrong that Constantinople should be again the capital of a Christian empire, though under the rule of Russia?

This question of Constantinople, which, if persisted in by France, according to her present course, will bring down Napoleon the Third like lightning from the throne, was that which laid the train for the overthrow of Napoleon the First; for that overthrow dated not from Waterloo, or even from the previous exile at Elba; but from the conference at Tilsit, when, moved by the same dynastic jealousy which moves the inheritor of his name and place, Napoleon refused to Alexander the extension of Russia to the Bosphorus. Magnanimity then would have preserved unbroken an honorable imperial friendship,—would have prevented the heart-rending retreat from Moscow! and Napoleon might have secured the peace for which he longed, with Russia on his side, and have died after a long and brilliant reign, as great in peace as in war, upon the throne, reposing in his last moments upon the bosom of the French people whom he loved so well, and borne by the hands of a mourning nation to no island grave, the prisoner and victim of that same England whom he who once rested on the knees of Napoleon has wooed and won to his embrace,—but the beloved emperor, yielding himself a prisoner to no enemy but death, borne from an imperial throne to an imperial tomb. If Napoleon the Great could not conquer that stupendous error, let his suc-

cessor, whose throne rests on bayonets and not, like that of the founder of his dynasty, on the hearts of the people, beware lest in imitating his uncle he copy only his faults.

England exclaims with holy horror, "Russia is a barbarous empire; the Allies are contending for civilization and enlightened institutions, for social refinement and education, for freedom of worship, and for all that elevates human life above the rude splendors of a powerful but barbaric polity." A strong defence surely, if well made out; but the adaptation of means to the end is absurd and melancholy indeed, since these grand objects are to be attained by the preservation of the Ottoman empire, which has poisoned civilization in the East, which has introduced the Mahometan harem into the place of Christian marriage, which knows little and practices less of true social refinement, which educates only in the false theology and false morality of the Alkoran, which has defiled altars consecrated by Christian princes,—and, if she allows any measure of Christian worship, does so as a matter of privilege and not of right, which is the consummation of all the influences that the deceivers of Mecca could combine to degrade human life and the human soul, which may captivate the uninstructed fancy by the "barbaric pearl and gold" of its infamous history, but whose greatest magnificence has been but a gorgeous insult to the Redeemer of mankind, and to the Church which he made the lamp of life

to guide mortality's immortal germ to holiness and heaven.

How logical the principles, that civilization must be defended by the permanence of its most malignant aggressor; that education must be promoted by the concentration of ignorance, and society kept refined and enlightened by the sovereignty of brutish and brutal Turks; that freedom of worship is to be sustained by the power which has made death the penalty of renouncing Islam, and which only tolerates Christianity as an outlaw, proscribed in her own household and an alien upon her own soil!

It may well be doubted whether Russia is as barbarous as her defamers maintain; but admit that she is worse than her enemies think or say. Was England always enlightened and Christian? Has the British empire become what she is by instantaneous intuition, and not by the slow progress of ages? Was Stonehenge a Christian temple, and were the Druids Christian priests? What was the state of the arts in those distant days? Who was the Homer of the early Britons, the Phidias, the Plato? Where is the Parthenon of ancient London? Who was the British Demosthenes at the time of Julius Cæsar? Questions are these to be answered by those who forget that they have themselves emerged from as gross a barbarism as in any age was enshrined in the Hercynian forests, or in the bleak domain of Scandinavia. Why should England claim her advancement in civilization as a divine right, and oppose that of other nations as an infernal wrong? From the tone of the

English press one might conclude that St. Petersburg is inhabited by savages; that the Emperor of Russia and his imperial court are as wild as the ancient Britons who resisted the landing of the Roman legions. Who would infer from English representations, that Russia has schools, universities, and churches, that moral, intellectual, and religious influences are steadily increasing in character and extent, that industry and enterprize are held in as high honor there as in England herself, that America has not more vigor and vitality than mark the progress of Russia? What lamentations must be heard in many of the elegant mansions of England, especially in the interior of the island, over the extreme barbarism from which the British isles are happily exempt, but which still disfigure the great countries east and west, across the ocean or the continent, and which is exemplified in the cities so far apart, yet so united by a common bond of barbaric deprivation, New York and St. Petersburg! There is nothing in history or analogy to show that the Slavonic mind as represented by Russia, may not do as much for humanity, civilization, and Christianity as the Anglo-Saxon mind as represented by England. The study of the national forces of Europe, from the settlement of Rome to that of London, Paris, and St. Petersburg, will prove, as far as analogy can prove any thing, that the world has as much to hope now from Slavonic vigor as it had, more than five hundred years ago, from the Anglo-Saxon, Norman, or Gallic energies.

But, "Russia is despotic." France has that rep-

utation also; but let it be granted that Russian despotism is worse than any in Europe. Why, then, keep Russia pent up by the icy Baltic, when her free avenue to the Mediterranean will bring her now secluded people into the circle of those moral forces which confirm constitutional order, intellectual culture, the graces of art, and all the mild humanities of life? If Russia be barbarous and despotic, let her have free air and light, open the way with alacrity, that by more frequent and unobstructed intercourse with other nations, by enlarged facilities of whatever develops individual or national prosperity, by greater conformity to the institutions of other lands, she may be pervaded by civilizing and refining influences, which will lift up the people and abate the barbarous and despotic characteristics; if Russia be not so barbarous and despotic as she is represented, then why should her fresh and impulsive energies lie fallow, when they are so needed for the revival of eastern Europe from the decay of ages, a decay produced by that most disastrous of all forms of government, the despotism of the Turks, the fountain of slimy ignorance and of pestilential blight. Either horn of the dilemma guides Russia to Constantinople.

The czar rules absolutely by the organic law of Russia. He has not, like Napoleon the Third, overthrown a republic to make his will the law. If the change in the structure of the French government had been freely and spontaneously made by

the people of France, republicans might have wondered at the choice, but they would have had no indignation to expend upon the massacre which sealed the death-warrant of the republic, and baptized the empire with French blood.

If the president of the French Republic felt that the question was between civil order and the giving over of France to the Babel of a French debating society, though dignified by the name of the National Assembly, he should have appealed to the people for a prolongation of power. They had elevated him to their highest honor, when he was derided by the first Assembly, of which he was a member; and they would have sustained him at a time of threatened anarchy. There was no such crisis as to justify an express act of usurpation. The world and history always applaud individual energy in a terrible emergency, but they demand that the emergency shall be real before they honor individual resistance to a combination of forces. Men have been disposed to overlook much that was objectionable in Louis Napoleon's assumption of continuous power, on the powerful plea of the safety of the state and of the governing principle. However doubtful may have been the right of Louis Napoleon to act the usurper, the truth remains, that usurpation, or what is so called, though generally wrong, may be the very highest of civic virtues. A man who is born to rule, of course, knows the fact himself; and, though nothing may justify his over-

turning established order, yet, when order is already overturned, when anarchy and civil ruin prevail, and men's hearts quail for the want of directing energy, when Faith is derided and her sanctions set at naught, when law is a by-word, and duty a reproach, the man whose claims, resting upon a right more divine than descent from a line of kings, may not be recognized, or may be even rejected, such a man errs against God, his birthright, and the good of mankind, if he does not take the power which may have been through ignorance, fear, or envy withheld ; and he is responsible chiefly to God for what means he may use to make his will effective, or for what shackles he may throw off which would obstruct his liberty of action.

The principle thus broadly stated cannot defend the course of the emperor of France ; but, at the same time, it is natural that the French people should have preferred to confirm the change violently made, to giving up the nation to anarchy and the blood-red flag, and to excesses which would have blanched by contrast the crimson inauguration of the empire ; but if Napoleon the Third imagines that he rules France by any better title than a presumed necessity, as a choice of evils, he errs as wildly and fatally as the Red Republicans, should they suppose that France would obey them under any other conviction than silent terror. The scepter of Napoleon is too slippery to make it

safe for him to try experiments in changing the historic currents of French thought and action. The "sober, second thought" in Republics has been deemed invincible; it may be of equal force in empires, when the first hallucination of a brilliant but false policy has passed away. Reflection will yet convince the people of France, that, notwithstanding their allegiance to the Roman See, for which their army is contending, no part of Christendom can derive any permanent good from preserving the dominion of the Crescent, to restrain whose aggression made martyrs of their kings in other days. It would be wiser in Spain to restore to the Moors the sovereignty of Andalusia, than it is in France to keep the Turks in sovereignty over eastern Europe.

A noble principle and a righteous cause will turn even defeats to victories, by nerving the arm with greater vigor, and by concentrating all possible energy upon the object to be gained. In the path of high endeavor and magnanimous action, failures are the milestones of success. Little is heard of Russian despondency, and much of the pervading gloom in England and France. The more Russia is resisted, the more firmly she clings to her purpose. The journals of the world are filled, at times, with glowing accounts of Russian defeats; yet Russia will not stay defeated. Russia can afford to wait; England and France cannot. The consciousness

grows deeper and deeper in the Russian mind, that the armies of the czar are contending for the rights of an insulted Faith. Is there not a growing misgiving in England and France respecting the object of the war? Did the Austrian alliance help the first impression that the Western Powers were contending for the liberties of Europe? Will the people of Italy, of Hungary, of Germany, look to Austria for freedom? What security have the Allies that Austria will keep faith with them? Has not Austria been, from first to last, the Greek Horse of European history?

These questions were written in December, 1854. Now, in June, 1855, they may be deemed answered to the satisfaction of England and France. The Austrian alliance, at best, amounted to little more than this, that, in the case of certain contingencies, Austria would take it into her very serious consideration what to do next. Whether those contingencies have arrived or not, Austria seems to have taken into serious consideration the policy of deserting entirely the Western Allies. She now leans towards Russia, with the probable intention to desert her when too hard pressed by England and France, who may rely upon it as an axiom, that they can make no use of Austria unless they can retain her with the sure pledge of success. If the most sacred of alliances could not keep Austria faithful to Napoleon the First, Napoleon the Third may well ask what sanction could bind an Austrian treaty with

any power on earth? It is not probable that Austria could keep an oath, though made in the bodily presence of the Four Evangelists. The only help which Austria can bring either to Russia or to the Western Alliance, is in the opportunity which she may give to either to gain time for any important measure, while she is considering which side is likely to win.

If, after having trifled with England and France, Austria shall betray Russia, the time will come for St. Petersburg to announce that there is no longer any necessity for the national existence of Austria. In 1849 Nicholas saved Austria from destruction; Alexander or Louis Napoleon may find other business in 1856. It will be of little moment by whom Austrian perfidy shall be punished, provided only that it shall be punished once for all. Austria should no longer be allowed to break treaties literally, or to "keep the word of promise to the ear, and break it to the hope."

Vienna is not so impregnable as Sebastopol; and if the Allies will accept advice from an American friend of Russia, it is to raise the deadly siege of Sebastopol, and soundly to chastise Austria at the walls of Vienna. Meanwhile, Russia can march quietly to Constantinople. The Western Allies need have no fear that this procedure will awaken new enmity at St. Petersburg. All the tears will soon be dry which Russia may shed over the fall of Vienna, and the destruction of the hopes of Austria to be at the head of the new German empire. Ger-

many has a better friend than Austria, and Russia has a wiser neighbor. Thus, the occupation of Vienna by the Allied armies will be gratifying on two accounts. It will relieve Germany of the incubus of Austrian arrogance and backwardness; and it will rather facilitate than hinder the progress of Russia towards Constantinople. Perhaps England and France cannot find a better way than this to retreat with honor from their false and ignominious position. Let them adopt this course, and neither English nor French journals will have any reason to complain of the want of American sympathy. The fall of Vienna, whether accomplished by Russia or by the Western Allies, would be received with enthusiastic rejoicing throughout the United States from the borders of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico.

A government like Austria, ingrained with deceit, should be put out of harm's way as soon as possible; and a due measure of castigation would be a Christian duty. Austrian honor, if there were such a thing, might have kept the allied armies out of Paris, and retained Napoleon on his throne. It will be strange if the labyrinth of the Eastern question shall not sooner or later afford some scope for righteous retribution; and the intensity of it will not be diminished if England, one of the former Allies, shall join with her former enemy in holding and applying the rod. Of all the agents in the fall of Napoleon, Austria had the least cause against him, and treated him the worst; Russia had the greatest

cause, and treated him with the most magnanimity. Yet the France, even the Napoleonic, France of the present, led by a kind of perverse fatalism, has been unworthily pleading with Austria to help her against Russia, who, though a conqueror, was a friend in need to Napoleon.

This is one of the inconsistencies arising from the support of the Ottoman empire. Will England and France tell the world what boon the Turks have conferred upon mankind, to justify the pouring out of rivers of Christian blood in their defence? The English mind is too direct, and the French mind too acute, to be long misled by false issues and false principles, when their maintenance ceases to be a speculative exercise, and becomes a practical injury, wrings afflicted hearts, and palsies resolution with doubt. There is no teacher so thorough as grief, no persuasion so mighty as sorrow. The brave soldiers of England and France who have fallen in obedience to a false principle on the hills and plains of the Crimea, though dead yet speak; and the still small voice of anguish at home will be more powerful in guiding right reflection than the most learned disquisitions on the war in the East. But a hundred fold greater desolation is in store for England and France, if they shall persist in this for them unholy war. Russia is contending for the rights of Christianity and of Christian people upon Christian soil, as noble a principle as ever nerved an arm; and this she will not yield, though deserted or opposed

by the rest of Christendom; if she fail, it is the triumph of Mahomet over Christianity; if she conquer, whatever greater splendor may accrue to Russia, for her victorious assertion of the rights of the Christian faith, will be fairly won.

The effect of Russian rule at Constantinople will be to change the whole structure of the Russian empire. Her people will become polished and refined; her imperial sovereignty will be founded not on blind obedience but on general consent; her system of serfdom will be ameliorated, and at length given up; her church and priesthood will feel the new life imparted to the nation, and will become—in all respects that need reformation,—reformed; the Greek Church emancipated and revived by Slavonic vigor will be again a glorious and beneficent communion, and she will maintain with greater significance than ever her independence of the See of Rome; the lamp of Faith that has been glimmering weakly for ages, and has at times almost gone out, will feel the new air, and will flame up like the sun at his rising; until at last, all the corruptions of the various branches of the Christian Church being removed, the way may be open for the union again of dismembered Truth in one organic shape.

If Republicans feel reluctant to sympathize with the expansion of a splendid empire, let them reflect that republican forms are not everywhere possible; that popular liberty has often gained when kingdoms have been sublimed into empires,—for

while kings have generally been the tools and playthings of aristocracies, to oppress or delude the people, emperors have been often the friends of the people, and their defenders against haughty and tyrannical nobles. An empire founded on universal consent is better than a kingdom founded alone on hereditary title; and ages of patrician insolence have sometimes compelled Democracy herself, to insure and complete her triumphs, to be enthroned and crowned. There may be worse governments, both in theory and practice, than an elective constitutional empire. Republics cannot exist in Europe for a long time. European republics can be but little more than bridges from decayed to vigorous dynasties. An emperor ruling by the popular will is better than a king supported by a peerage.

If Turkey, with all her backward tendencies, has been modified against her will since Constantinople has been her capital, what may not be expected of Russia, ever on the alert to expand her resources, and panting after the ideal of a great and magnificent empire, whose sign is the Cross?

The true liberty of mankind, the regeneration of eastern Europe by the energies of the Christian Faith, the enlightenment of Russia, will be postponed by the success of the Allies. Nothing effectual can be done for the emancipation of the East, while the Mahometan sovereignty endures. The Ottoman empire must be divided by the chief Christian powers of the globe; or it must be formed into a new

Christian empire under the joint protection of the rest of Christendom. The time has gone by for any more treaties with the Ottoman dominion, except the final stipulation of surrender. No lasting peace will be secure in the East until the Cross shall be victorious over the city of Constantine and the city of David. God speed that consummation !

Time has shown the fallacy of the hopes of peace founded on the death of the Czar Nicholas. The war in the East is not a war of rulers or of dynasties, but of national energies and principles. With Russia it is a war, not of Nicholas or of Alexander, but of Russia,—of the Russian soul, of the Russian determination, of the Russian religion. Before the death of Nicholas, a spirit was awakened throughout his vast empire, which will not be satisfied except by the fulfillment of what is deemed the especial mission of Russia, the absorption of Turkey in Europe. Nicholas fell, weighed down by his mighty labors and responsibilities in standing single-handed against the rest of Europe ; for Prussia, if friendly to him, did not avow his cause ; and Austrian diplomacy is a problem which few can solve. The colossal frame of Nicholas was worn out by continuous anxieties induced by the base opposition of the Western Alliance ; yet when he fell, not conquered in war, but overcome by his gigantic endeavors to resist the most ignoble combination ever made against a single ruler since the world was made, the pious journals of England lifted up their hands and eyes,

and exclaimed with sublime hypocrisy, "Behold ! a judgment of God !" It may have been so ; but England and France may learn, before the war is over, that it was as great a judgment upon them as upon the victim of their unholy coalition. Nicholas fell, like a noble stag upon the mountains, exhausted by his constant watching in keeping at bay the hounds that were yelling around him, and panting to tear him to pieces.

If the Russian people could have consented to an accommodation of the Eastern question under the reign of Nicholas, they will not now ; because Nicholas is dead, and, rightfully or wrongfully, his people will regard him as a martyr to their religion and to the glory of Russia. The manner in which he was worried into the arms of death by the Western powers will inspire every Russian heart, it will move every Russian will and every Russian arm. The Russian people will regard their present czar as bound by a religious obligation sealed by the pale hand of death, to persist in his father's policy, though every fortress in Russia should fall, and St. Petersburg itself be occupied by the troops of the Allies. The throne of Alexander would fall, because he would be deemed a faithless son as well as a faithless ruler, if he should step back an inch from the course of Nicholas ; although he is free to go beyond it if he will. The death of Nicholas destroyed the last hope of peace, as long as the Sublime Porte holds Constantinople. The death of Nicholas was

hailed in England with unseemly rejoicing, as a pledge of peace ; it should rather have been mourned as a signal of a long and dreary war, unless England shall renounce her policy. Far wiser was the Emperor of France in detecting consequences, when, on being told that his great Northern enemy had fallen at the touch of that icy hand which is stronger than the sword or than besieging armies, he weighed long the weighty message, and said "Nothing is changed."

If, notwithstanding the action of the Allies, the Czar Nicholas was bound by any disclaimers of immediate designs upon Constantinople, Alexander wears no such fetters upon his will. He can act freely as the representative of the hereditary policy of Russia. Twice at least, Nicholas might have seized Constantinople, before Europe could have struck a blow in its defence ; and had he determined to seize that city two years ago, instead of entering upon a long and tedious negotiation with Turkey and the Western powers, hardly any thing would have been heard of difficulty in the East before a Russian fleet had appeared in the Golden Horn, and the city might have been taken before even the English and French fleets in the Mediterranean could have entered the Dardanelles ; and the announcement in the English Parliament might have been, not that Russia had made imperious demands upon Turkey, but that she had taken Constantinople. All this might have been done in 1848

or 1853. The fact that it was not done shows that the fate of Constantinople was not meant to be made an immediate issue by Nicholas when he demanded new guaranties of the Sublime Porte for the performance of stipulations recently violated.

Yet the Allies are determined not to leave the Crimea until Sebastopol is in ruins, because it threatens Constantinople. But, has it not threatened Turkey as much at any time since its fortresses were built as now? Have England and France just discovered the value of Sebastopol? They have certainly occupied considerable time in their investigations; but it is a wonder that they should have seen for so many years this lion in the way, and made no effort to remove him. Do they not know that the more they resist the advances of Russia to the Mediterranean, the more they will concentrate her will upon that object, and that the longer they stay in the Crimea the faster hastens the hour when the flag of Russia will float over Constantinople? England and France might as well take arms against the law of gravitation as oppose the course of Russia to the Bosphorus.

If the emperor Napoleon was right in saying, as regards the continuance of the war, "Nothing is changed," when Nicholas died, he would not have been right as regards the relation of Russia to Constantinople. It has been shown before, that Nicholas could have changed the issue of the war without bad faith, when the Western powers became ag-

gressors; and certainly Alexander can inaugurate his reign by any secret purpose or public avowal respecting Constantinople. God speed him!

The disposition of Alexander has one element more consonant with the genius of the Russian people, than the general character of Nicholas. He has more of the imaginative faculty, more of that enthusiasm of spirit which becomes the leader of such a movement as that of Russia, and which the practical energy, however great, of Nicholas would not supply. If the friends of Russia may demur at calling the present spirit of Russia superstitious, and if her enemies object to call it religious, they will both agree in calling it enthusiastic; and since a kindled and exalted imagination was the main spring of Napoleon's ambition and of his influence over men, all who partake of it in any degree, when placed in heroic stations, have a key of power which folly only will render useless.

Men may set their minds at rest upon this point, that there will be no enduring peace on earth while any portion of Europe, Asia, or Africa remains under the dominion of the Turks. Christendom is awaking from its lethargy; and the ignominious usurpation of Islam will soon cease forever; and Christian energies once more pervading the home of Faith will make the lands now desolate under the Moslem scepter the choicest portions of the globe. Whether dynasties stand or fall, or kings live or die,

the Crescent is doomed, and the Cross will soon be triumphant as a symbol of sovereignty throughout the East, and on the very spot where it was first erected in scorn and humiliation.

CHAPTER IV.

Effects of the Fall of the Ottoman Empire. England and France in Asia and Africa. The Greeks. American interest in the Eastern Question. The German Empire. Poland. Hungary. Italy.

THE fall of the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte over Turkey in Europe, must soon be followed by the entire dissolution of the Mahometan power everywhere. Mecca may remain for a while the seat of Islam, as a religious system; but the pride and hope of Islam, as an imperial power have long centered in Constantinople; and when that city has once gone out of the hands of the Turks, the pulses of Islam will no longer beat with enduring life. A spasmodic existence may be for a time maintained in Asia and Africa; and, so far as the Turks can act freely, they may venture to take reprisals upon the Christians there for the loss of their adored Stamboul; but, as there is no probability that any treaty of peace will be made ceding Constantinople to Russia until English forces occupy Syria and Asia Minor, and French forces Egypt, the Turks will not be able to inflict permanent injury in those parts of the present Ottoman empire beyond Europe.

The effect of the fall of the Ottoman empire will be like the birth of a new and glorious solar system

in space, from regions like those of primeval chaos. It will be as though the hand of the Almighty should visibly touch this globe of ours, and inspire it with his own divinity. It will be the crowning glory of the history of the human race. The Ottoman empire is and has been for ages, the visible shadow of death; and when it vanishes into night, the dawning glory of the day that is to follow will seem like the New Jerusalem itself, coming down from above, to abide with men till time shall cease. Political men see only a struggle of ambition in the Eastern question; but that is a material view of the momentous significance of the war in the East. In reference to the future welfare of mankind, the Eastern question is the very gate to Paradise. The fall of Islam will indeed be an earthquake among all the nations of the earth; some will perish, some will be broken; the castles of privilege will be swallowed up; the structures of deceit will totter and fall; institutions venerable for age and power, will shake like reeds; for a while the world will seem to be given up to the forces of destruction; but the Church of the Living God will emerge from the ruin glorious and beautiful with immortal youth, endowed with new graces and gifts from her celestial treasury, crowned with a diadem of unity, and wielding a scepter of love, the one Holy Catholic Church, drawing to her serene courts all the glories of time, the tribute of genius, the wealth of learning, the splendors of art, sanctifying them all with

the beauty of holiness, and speaking to the nations in the voice of universal authority. O ! thou once suffering, now glorified Christ, endow those whom thou shalt choose of thy servants to minister to the latter glories of thy Kingdom on earth with thy conscious presence, that, in thy strength and to thine honor they may do thy will and serve thy cause !

If Mahometan sovereignty over Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Alexandria, cannot fall without carrying with it the balance of power, let that whole structure, keystone and all, go to pieces at once. Better that the world should become chaos again, and be made over anew, than that the Ottoman empire should any longer be a bulwark to keep back the tide of Christian civilization. The Ottoman empire is a malignant cancer upon the breast of the world, which cannot be cut out without being felt in transient pain in every fiber of the frame which it has so long polluted and dishonored. England and France may apply lotions, but nothing less than eradication will cure. Christianity will not injure the Turks ; she will freely grant her blessed gifts in return for the woes of their dominion ; but she demands nothing less than the annihilation of their sovereign power.

Established upon the central space of the globe, the Ottoman empire, in exact proportion to its own weakness, checks and enfeebles the growth of every country upon earth. The fall of that gigantic struc-

ture of evil and wrong will give a new power to every government, a new life to every people. Russia cannot alone grow strong, unless those who oppose her become too weak by a vain resistance and waste of resources to avail themselves of any benefit at the dissolution of the sovereignty of Islam. Great as may be the convulsions when that impious Babel goes to ruin, stately towers blest by heaven will arise in its place. The flood which shall sweep the corruptions of Turkey into the sea of oblivion, will cause no permanent disaster, although its billows may rage and roar until their sublime work is done. "Though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea," a divine hand will direct the tempest and the tide,—and though the current in its fury shall destroy the old landmarks, and beat with vengeance against the citadels of error, it is not a sea making destruction without cause, but that "river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the Most High."

All Europe and the world will gain, in the vigor of civil and religious institutions, from the events of the war now begun, either by the merging of weak nationalities into powerful and progressive states, by greater internal strength, or by territorial acquisitions. France and England, which fear the most, have the least to fear unless they persist in the road of political death, and fall prostrate at last with the dead body which they have taken to their common

embrace. Let them do or leave undone what they can, Constantinople will become a Russian city; but this event, so far from weakening the powers of England and France, will bring them into more intimate relations than ever before with the East. These two empires are already established in the line of growth and extension to the Levant; so that by becoming powerful there, according to the natural law of their progress, they will become as strong Eastern powers as they are now Western. England is now immovably fixed in the East; France is already established, in her own territory and in her colonies, directly upon the Mediterranean. Russia will not grow an inch more than either of them, provided that the Mahometan policies of both be overturned, as they will be when the people of England and the people of France shall see their false position in Christendom, and shall overrule the course of their governments towards the foe of Christianity.

It requires no gift of prophecy, but simply a view of the map, and reflection on the growth of great empires hitherto, to see that France will expand her dominion, in due time, from Algiers, in both directions, along the whole Mediterranean coast of Africa, from Egypt to Morocco, from the Red sea to the Atlantic Ocean; and that England, once more a Christian nation, and no longer a surety of Mahomet, will extend her East Indian possessions in one unbroken line from Hindostan over southern Persia, Arabia, the Holy Land, and Asia Minor, from the

Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean,—from Ceylon with its “spicy breezes,” to Patmos with its holy vision,—until the banner of St. George shall wave over the city of Mecca itself, and over the seven cities of the seven churches; and Jerusalem shall become the seat of the Anglo Saxon empire of the East, and the metropolis of the Anglo Saxon Church, no longer an insular establishment, but the ascendant power of the united universal Church.

The Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles belonging thus to England, an Anglo Saxon metropolis of Asia Minor may be built near ancient Troy; and so, the heroes of whom Homer sung three thousand years ago, and distant even then from him, may be united to the present by English founders of a city almost on the soil where Priam wept over his conquered kingdom, and whence Æneas bore Anchises from his ruined home.

Since, then, by the fall of the Ottoman empire, Russia and England may be brought into such close proximity in the East for a space extending from the Archipelago to China, the interruption of their friendly relations by an envious war on the part of England is peculiarly calamitous, not only for them but for the whole human race; for on their joint authority in the East depends in a great degree the welfare of the world. Peace between them will be a crown of glory to them both. That nations which should go hand in hand in the great work to be done in the East, should be exhausting their energies, En-

gland in making and Russia in resisting a willful and wicked aggression, is most bitterly painful to every observer who stands beyond the range of local enmities, and sees chiefly the thing to be done, and the agents whom God seems to have appointed to do it.

It is an imperative duty, that England and Russia should cultivate the most friendly international sympathies; that they should regard each other as generous rivals in manufactures, commerce, and in all the arts of life; and that neither should seek to interpose obstacles to the just development of the other. England, by alienating Russia, is doing far more to confirm her deficiencies, which she is herself most willing to allow, and which she would gladly see removed by the diffusion of English culture and refinement; but when she sees the very power that should do the most for her advancement in the highest attributes of nations doing the most to keep her in chains, can any wonder that indignation should pervade the whole empire of Russia, at England, who, having reaped for ages the commercial harvest of the seas, now strives to keep Russia from sowing and reaping on the same broad fields of the ocean from which her own golden sheaves of wealth have come?

The Greek Church, or, as it will be known henceforth in history, the Slavonic Church, and the Anglo Saxon Church should be drawn into close and affectionate union; for under their guidance Constantinople and Jerusalem must assume a place in

Christendom which will forever reduce the supremacy of the Roman Church ; until the communions of the East as well as of the West shall be purified of abuses and corruptions, and the Church of Christ, again one body, shall be enthroned upon Mount Zion, and extend a scepter of benignant grace over an obedient and rejoicing world.

The Church of England is most affectionately urged to consider, whether she is fulfilling worthily her high commission by making enemies of those whose ecclesiastical respect she should win by the most generous and noble sacrifices ; and, whether she is laying a good foundation for her power and glory in the East by leading those whose Christian fellowship she needs, to look upon her as a selfish hireling who will not speak a word of enlarged Christian benevolence lest it should embarrass the groveling policy of the dog in the manger, adopted by the cabinet of England.

England is advancing rapidly towards the valley of the shadow of death from which there can be no national resurrection. If she shall take the path of life, the glories of her past career will be shaded by the splendors of her Augustan age to come ; still, the great question is not whether Russia, England, or France singly or together shall grow stronger or weaker, but whether the Prince of Darkness or the Lord of Life and Light shall rule this world for the next thousand years.

France has embraced the Crescent, although

bound by every pledge of the past and the future to insist upon the surrender of Mahometan sovereignty. One might almost expect that in the visions of the night, the emperor of France would see the brave hosts who fell fighting, with the Cross upon their helmet-fronts and on their mail-clad hearts, to save the Saviour's sepulcher, thronging in complete steel the imperial palaces of France, pacing their halls with slow and pensive steps, pointing to the bloody stains upon their armor reddening out from centuries of rust, and saying plaintively "And thou, France! And thou, France!" and then dissolving into air. Thou emperor, seated on a throne of bayonets, who hast dared with sacrilege and dishonor to violate the historic position of France, look towards ancient Carthage, and see the mourning shadow of the saintly king pointing to the place of his last breath; hear his severe and sad reproof, and repent of thy criminal use of the energies of a France in a war of equal iniquity and folly. Heed the lessons of history; hearken to thy conscience; read the burning letters on the wall, and call for the nearest prophet to expound them. As the hosts of Pharaoh, pursuing the children of Israel as they fled from Egyptian servitude, were overwhelmed in the Red Sea, so the armies of France, if they shall keep the Christian children of the East from passing from the bondage of Islam into Christian liberty,—the armies of France, with thee, their new emperor not

crowned, will sink like lead in the Red Sea of civil war. Beware, consider, and repent.

If, in the expulsion of the False Prophet from Christian dominions is assigned to Russia the redemption of Constantinople, and to England the redemption of Jerusalem, to France is committed the liberation of Egypt. The restorer of the sway of Napoleon should be mindful of the historic trust connected with Egypt. The bridge between Macedonian conquest and the glory of France will be built, when the eagles of Napoleon shall perch on the citadels of Alexandria, which, restored as a Christian capital under Napoleonic energy, must bring splendor to France far exceeding the Ptolemaic or Roman glories of the land of the Nile.

Thus, under the auspices of Russia, England, and France, may the deadly wastes of Turkey become vigorous and plentiful. Husbandry, manufactures, commerce, every kind of material improvement, intellectual culture, and above all the free and unrestrained diffusion of Christianity as a sovereign influence pervading all the modes and institutions of life, will make the desert to blossom as the rose, and will change the habitations of cruelty into abodes of Christian gentleness and love.

Some speculative men seek a solution of the Eastern problem in a revival of the Greek Empire. A vision so pleasing cannot be relinquished without pain. The Greek intellect in its most glorious days,

was too subtle and analytic for a long period of vigorous dominion. How different from the Roman mind ! While the Greeks were drawing intellectual distinctions in abstract theories, the Romans were subduing the world, and assigning governors and laws to conquered provinces. While the Greeks were arranging the lights and shades of their language with the skill of an artist in disposing his colors, Roman armies were invading the farthest corners of the known world, and Roman Generals were entering the gates of the Eternal City with captive monarchs walking behind their chariot wheels. While Greece discoursed philosophy in tones of spoken music, Rome besieged the walls of cities, and exacted tribute and allegiance in that lordly tongue in which for centuries subjection spoke not from Roman lips. Greece loved her philosophic walks ; the pride of Rome was

“Battle’s magnificently stern array.”

Greece warbled life away in ecstasies of intellectual beauty ; Rome filled the daily walks of life with the clangor of the trumpet. Greece had, indeed, her martial glories as well as Rome ; but her greatest heroes were her magnanimous defenders, often unsuccessful against superior might. The heroes of Rome were nearly all conquerors. The history of Greece is full of martyrs ; the history of Rome is entwined with the laurels of victory. Homer’s majestic song or Plato’s melodious lessons could delight

the Greeks, though disaster had fallen on the State, and clouds hung heavily above the Parthenon. In the hour of peril, the Roman ear was dull to every sound but that which called brave Romans to the field. Greece charmed, Rome ruled the world.

Though such were the characteristics of the Roman and of the Greek intellect, much of the splendor of the Roman mind was owing to Grecian culture, which added grace, while it took not away the native vigor and the indomitable will.

The Russian mind has a striking resemblance, in hardihood and unyielding firmness, to the Roman; and its elevation and refinement will greatly proceed from the same source,—Grecian culture. If the Greeks cannot look forward to a revival of their imperial sway, they may with reason hope that they themselves, emancipated from bitter thralldom, may see revived among them the spirit of their ancient culture, and may see pervaded by it the strong, rough, Russian intellect. The Greek hand can no longer hold the chisel of the sculptor or the pencil of the painter; it cannot wield the rod of empire.

The swords of the heroes of Greece are but rust;
The heroes themselves sleep unchallenged in dust.
Who, who shall give life to a nation that's dead!
What cure can be wrought when the spirit has fled!

The echoes of Homer and Plato linger among the isles and hills of Greece; but no living Homer sings on the Ionian shore; no living Plato speaks in academic glories. It is a sad but rigorous truth,

that the days of sole Grecian sovereignty are over; yet Slavonic energy, infused into the traditional influences of Grecian culture will produce an intellectual training as noble as any which the world has ever seen, as vigorous as the Roman, as graceful as the Greek, but combining and comprehensive, if not fitted to rule, at least to act epics and dramas that shall entrance the world, and, in due time, to pour the wealth of revived learning and art over the lands where both have languished in the long barbarian night.

The Greeks will thus be compensated for ages of bondage, in seeing their rude deliverers transformed into personations of Grecian taste and acuteness, and of Russian directness and power; and they themselves, nerved and encouraged by the presence of a fresh and enterprising race, will shake off their lethargy, born of hard servitude, and will stand forth again in equality with all around them, giving and receiving gifts of national prosperity and honor, guiding while being guided, blessing while being blessed, granting while enjoying rights.

The Greek Church also, which, during her afflictive captivity of seven times seventy years, while the mortal foe of Christ has kept his heel upon her brow, has still remembered in plaintive adoration the harp of David and the sacrifice of "David's greater Son," and at sacred shrines in cities, and in consecrated chapels in secluded valleys, and on craggy heights, has served God in saintly seclusion or in

active charity, and found joy in the midst of sorrow in the continual celebration of matins and of vespers, of midnight orisons and in eucharistic blessing,—the Greek church, emancipated from the thralldom of Mahomet, and invigorated by a new spirit, and reformed by the action of that heavenly grace which, though obscured, has not forsaken her, will meet for her continuance in patient suffering a threefold recompence of splendor, might, and grace.

The absorption of Turkey in Europe into the Russian domain, is not, indeed, essential to the restoration of Constantinople to Christian rule. Provided that the Cross supplants the Crescent on the pinnacles of Santa Sophia, and that the scepter of Constantine is wielded by a Christian hand, let him who will or who can reign at Byzantium. But if the kingdom of Greece was obliged to accept a sovereign from abroad, the vast Byzantine empire, if restored, embracing the most important and interesting cities in the world, Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, abounding with Jewish, classical, and Christian memorials, must go beyond its own dominion for a head; and he must be of one of the progressive races of the world, that have not yet reached their culmination, the Slavonic, Anglo-Saxon, French, or German.

The characteristics of the Slavonic race are such as to entitle it to a position which it has not, like the rest, enjoyed, of working out its capabilities on a free and open domain. The long restriction which

Slavonic Russia has suffered from the main avenues of intercourse with the world at large, and the bondage which Slavonic Turkey has borne so long, seem to be good and valid reasons why the sovereignty of Turkey in Europe should pass into Slavonic hands, inspired by the Grecian faith, and refined by Grecian taste. The Slavonic race has earned Turkey in Europe, and the price has been paid in the bitter coin of persecution and blood. There is no reason why the races in Turkey of other stocks should not live in harmony with the dominant Slavonic influence, for a community of suffering continued so long has naturally weakened many of those jealousies which might have flourished in a state of prosperity; and the severity of the discipline to which they have been subjected will have its reward in the unanimity of counsel and forbearance with which they may join in the race of national honor and glory.

Whatever, then, may be the disposition made of Turkey in Asia, and of Egypt, it is evident that the advantages to Russia will be the same, whether Turkey in Europe shall become an integral part of Russia, or be erected into a Slavonic-Greek empire, including the present kingdom of Greece, and, possibly the Slavonic provinces of Austria, under the scepter of the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia.

But if the other European powers shall protest against the absorption of Turkey in Europe into the main empire of Russia, or into a secondary empire

under a Russian Prince, and shall require that, if the sovereignty of Turkey be surrendered at all, its place shall be supplied by a new Christian empire embracing all the Turkish dominions in the three continents, and formed by the consent of the Christian Powers, a new element of complication enters into the question in the fact that the consent required, and the protection granted, must be truly of all the Christian Powers of the world, and not those of Europe alone. The United States of America and all the other independent sovereignties of the New World, as parts of universal Christendom, have equal rights with Christian Europe in saying who shall rule, and how he shall rule, in the new Christian Empire of the East, if it be established on the plea that an exclusive Russian sovereignty, even in Turkey in Europe, will be dangerous to the world.

In no holier sense could America inaugurate her policy as an authoritative arbiter among the nations, than by a bold declaration respecting the rights of Christianity in the East. No considerations of interest would justify such a course, were it abhorrent to duty ; but when duty and prudence coincide, their requirements may be safely obeyed. America cannot be indifferent to the state of the East, on the question of Faith, or even of Political Economy. If she cannot endure to see a false religion enshrined in the Holy Land, neither can she endure to see the subordinate blessings of Christianity withheld from the East. Considering the ramifications of Amer-

can commerce, of American industry, of American enterprise, one may well believe that the Eastern world restored to Christian sovereignty, may attract many pilgrims from the West, to aid by their strong arms and earnest wills in the renovation of lands that have been so long blighted and in ruins ; that the American shepherd may dwell upon the hill sides where Abraham led his flocks, that American hands may till the soil where Jacob sowed and reaped, and where Ruth gleaned the fields ; that, under whatever Christian sovereignty, the East may gather from every land the choicest gifts of labor, art, intelligence, and faith, that in harmony and peace the regions unblest for ages may be gladdened by multitudes of Christian men from the East and the West, from the North and the South, in both hemispheres, speaking one language of the heart, however different in speech. It cannot be that the East is long to remain in desolate stagnation ; and in its awakening to new life, time only will unfold what mode and measure of influence may be conferred by the vigorous empire of the West. Let England take her true position, and all Anglo-Saxon America, at least, will stand by her side faithfully to the end ; but as long as she is willing to yield the East to the powers of darkness that have ruled it so long in sorrow, she must not repine if America chooses to remember that she is a Christian country, bound by no pledges to uphold an infamous dominion ; that her course is not backward,

but onward ; that she is willing by all just means to advance the good of man, but not to hold it back by supporting by sympathy or arms the prerogatives of falsehood and the scepter of contumely. If, then, America shall be called to international councils to deliberate on the state of the East, her influence will be justified either by participating in the formation of a new vast empire in the place of universal Turkey, or by securing her just proportion of guaranties, according to the public law, should a division of the Ottoman empire between Russia, England, and France be deemed the less complicated and shackled way of settling the Eastern question.

The point of maritime rights in the Archipelago, in the Levant, in the Dardanelles, in the Red Sea demands to be settled by the concurrent action or ratification of Christendom ; and, in the higher view of the rights of the Christian faith, the United States representing interests of Christianity different from those of either of the now contending powers of Europe, have not only rights but duties in the Eastern question ; and her absolute neutrality when the prerogatives of Christianity are at stake, will prove to be equally wrong, impolitic, and impossible. It is not to be desired that America should assume a warlike attitude. On the contrary, her presence at an international Congress may be the essential element of a peaceful solution of the problem of the East ; for, while she will never consent

to the prolongation of Mahometan sovereignty at Constantinople, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, she has no dynastic interests to avenge or gratify in determining how the rights of Christianity shall be restored; and Turkey herself, finding the New World as well as Russia pressing the claims of Christian supremacy, would hardly dare to maintain her bloody throne on the fearful alternative which would then be presented, for Russia being absolved by the declaration of war on the part of the Sublime Porte from adherence to the injurious concessions of 1840 and 1841, and the New World having been no party to the degrading treaties, are free to revise the relations of the Sublime Porte to Christendom without any violation of faith; and England and France, who may deem themselves to be bound, the former by the arrangements of 1840 and both by those of 1841, to sustain Turkey (although in strictness they are jointly absolved with Russia, since the declaration of war from the Sublime Porte followed the presentation of terms agreed upon by the Four Powers, which, requiring no change in the sovereignty of the Dardanelles, was not an infringement of the treaty of 1840), may welcome the appearance of a new agent friendly to the rights of the Christian powers, and not bound by any implications to support the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte. Although the remark does not strictly belong here, yet the allusion to these treaties with the Sublime Porte justifies the observation

that the painful complications of the present war have mainly arisen from the fact, that every treaty with the Sublime Porte on terms of equality, has involved a begging of the question. The high contracting parties made stipulations according to the forms and sanctions of the law of nations, tacitly yielding the principle of international application, which should first have been settled by the authorities on public law, before being certified by ministers of state. It is singular, indeed, that while the order of precedence on days of ceremony has often caused the most grave discussions on international etiquette, the greatest question which can arise in the law of nations, the relation of the Sublime Porte to its essential characteristics has received a very unequal share of study and deliberation. The treaties of 1840 and 1841 with Turkey have received new significance of late; and the chief question respecting them is, not how far the present war has changed the relations of the parties, but what right the Christian powers, as such, had to make any such treaties. The writer of these pages makes no claim to speak by authority in so grave a matter, but he is thoroughly convinced that every treaty by which the continuance of the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte has been guaranteed by one or more Christian powers, has been an express and palpable violation of the spirit of the public law; and he hesitates not to say that he believes that this position, bold as it may seem, will be confirmed by future writers on

the law of nations who shall look back, when the Ottoman empire has gone to ruin, upon the spasmodic contortions to which the law of public right has been subjected to sustain a preposterous sovereignty, out of respect for the balance of power.

The truth is, that the theory of the balance of power has been as injurious to the world as the Ottoman empire itself; all America will have no tears to shed over the common destruction of both, especially when they act like Pilate and Herod in crucifying the Christian faith. America has wisely stood aloof from contests which affected merely the relative strength of European states; but the lands of the East are as dear to the American heart as to the European. The Christian on the Atlantic shore, on the banks of the Mississippi, in the wilds of the Oregon, looks for salvation to the same Judean cross to which turns the eye of faith in Europe, Asia, Africa. For him the celestial prophecies reverberated through all the arches of Judean history, from the gates of Eden to the walls of Bethlehem; for him David tuned his harp, and Solomon discoursed his wisdom; for him Isaiah's lips were touched with fire; for him was the Annunciation; for him the Angels sung while Shepherds listened to the holy strain; for him the Saviour of men lived in sorrow, and bowed his head in agony, and died.

Accordingly, whatever responsibilities may rest upon America to assist in the transformation of the East, and in making Jerusalem the capital of the

empire of the Cross, she will faithfully and resolutely fulfill.

Among the probable results of Slavonic sovereignty over Turkey in Europe, of the extension of English power in Asia, and of French power in Africa, is the consolidation of Germany. The German element is too valuable to wither and decline for the lack of national concentration; and the imperfect way in which it has of late years combined its agencies in a civic structure gives alike a reason and a hope for something better than the now broken condition of Germany. A confederation not intimate enough to be bound decisively by the central force, and yet too strict to allow independence of action, is less adapted to a vigorous national life than absolute centralization itself. Hence, Germany now occupies a position which, considering her varied eminence, is a meager manifestation of her political capabilities. The mixed features of civil policy which the German states present, while being a constant source of domestic irritation, hinder the immunities of freedom and the strength of absolutism, and expose Germany to a course of vacillation in every great question which arises among the nations. The world sees in Germany a straggling crowd of states, like soldiers without a commander, not knowing how to act, and likely to be disordered and dismayed by the first crisis which demands united force. Consequently, not only are great principles and local policies at constant warfare in Germany, occu-

pying each others' places and almost shifting their identities, but, false points and modes of view are used by the statists and cabinets of Germany. German welfare and unity are utterly confounded by the endeavors made to bring universal principles within the field of a microscope, and by applying to infinitesimal politics the power of the telescope. This ought no longer to be; and the reflecting men of Germany know it as well as any persons afar; yet, if called upon to speak or to act for German interests, they will probably repeat in public station the stereotype errors of their predecessors, against which they have been declaiming for a lifetime, and go back at length to private life disappointed and defeated, bewailing as loudly as ever the want of German unity and nationality. Germany should know, and Italy should know, that unity requires sacrifices as well as confers blessings; and among these sacrifices are local traditions.

Germany shut out by her position from direct sovereignty in the East, and still obeying, as she must, the impulses which will thrill through the globe like electric currents on the fall of the Ottoman empire, and obliged to provide beforehand lest what will be a general blessing shall prove to her divided household a catastrophe,—Germany, for her own salvation, should immediately set about that work, too long deferred, and which, even if at once begun and labored upon with unceasing industry, will not permit more than a strong foundation to be laid

against the day of the breaking up of the tide, leaving the superstructure to be completed when the rocking billows shall have spent their force.

If it be said that this is an argument for the balance of power, notwithstanding all that has been said against it before, let it be replied that nobody disputes the balance of power so far as it allows the full energy of a nation to be developed in behalf of order, justice, wealth, culture, and Christianity. In this view the war against Russia is condemned, because it refuses to permit the Slavonic influences to gain their due cultivation and power. It is because men set up their own divinity of the balance of power, and say "Thus far and no farther shall nations grow," assuming the prerogatives of God, that it is condemned,—and not from any wish to see national energies stifled. Hence, if the desire to see a strong united Germany betrays any respect for the balance of power, it is that only which many noble and progressive characteristics inspire, and not that which England and France profess to feel for deadly and stagnant Islam.

The people of Germany know very well that the new German empire must be formed and conducted under the auspices of Austria or of Prussia. Which will be the best and most faithful exponent of the German character? The German people have become too thoroughly indoctrinated with the love of liberty, partly by its enjoyment, partly by its lack, to accept an empire upon any other basis than

a constitution. A German autocracy is forever impossible; but a German empire, having all the strength, authority, and splendor of the imperial order, but rooted in the popular consent, and ramifying with constitutional right, is not only possible, but the natural consummation of causes which have been at work. Such is the aspect of Germany now, that as between the great rivals for her direction, there is hardly a doubt which will succeed or which deserves success, provided that it be sought in the only way in which success would be a blessing. Prussia is a German unit, and the more German she becomes the stronger hold she acquires upon German affection, and the stronger she becomes as an exponent of the German will. Prussia contains, yet undeveloped, the seeds of an intense German nationality; and the more carefully these germs are watched and cultivated, the more vigorous becomes not only the Prussian growth, but the universal German sympathy. On the other hand, Austria is a confused mass of imperfect nationalities, rudely combined, discontented, conscious of subjection, and which could not be consolidated as parts of an exclusively German commonwealth, without such outbreaks among the disaffected states as would first exhaust and then destroy the empire. Austria knows that she cannot rule Germany, unless she can make the German elements of her own dominion constantly and completely in the ascendant; but her efforts to sustain this German supremacy at

home has several times brought her to the verge of ruin. So that the more German Austria becomes the weaker she grows. Prussia, not Austria, is the heart of Germany, and she can make all Germany beat joyfully with Prussian pulsations, if she shall be wise enough to act in accordance with her intellectual and religious advancement. Let Prussia appeal to the universal suffrages of the German people, and offer a Federal constitution worthy of herself and of the wants and capacities of Germany, and the kingdom of Prussia will soon become the nucleus of a German empire which in splendor and extent of culture, in all that makes nations great and glorious, will occupy a worthy and immortal place in history.

Austria has lost whatever vantage-ground she may have had, by the tendency of her recent acts to recall to the world's mind her treacherous behavior towards all who have been joined with her in any alliance not directly for her benefit and aggrandizement. In such cases she may, perhaps, have kept faith, because it was not only just, but profitable. And, since Austrian faith now stands deteriorated, what hope can Germany have that she will not betray her, as she has done her foreign allies, if the executive powers of all Germany shall be committed to her hands? If guaranties be mentioned, what guaranties could the other German states have of any avail against a standing Austrian army of six hundred thousand men, beside the power of calling

on the forces of Germany at large, if Austria should think proper to betray Germany herself, as she did France when an imperial daughter at the court of the Tuileries was not a sufficient hostage of faith?

Prussia has preserved a dignified neutrality. Although her sympathies are very reasonably supposed to be Russian, she has given the Western Alliance no reason to complain of her bad faith. She has not sent armies to occupy the principalities and telegraphed to the emperor of the French his joy at the reported capture of Sebastopol. Prussia has pursued a course as skillful and sagacious as that of Austria, but without lying open to charges of treachery from Russia, England, or France. She has, indeed, served Russia better than by a formal alliance, by conveying Russian goods to England, and receiving in return English money, to be used by Russia, on its return, in the war against Great Britain and France; but this has been one of the privileges of neutrality, which England dares not interrupt, lest an act disturbing the rights of neutrals should cut across the Atlantic ocean as well as in the northern waters of Europe. By her neutrality Prussia has been gaining revenues which she may use with great effect when neutrality becomes no longer possible. She has violated no stipulations; the whole world knows that she desires the success of Russia, that she has no possible cause of sympathy with the Western Allies, and can derive no possible advantage by joining in a mad crusade against the Cross.

So that Austria by trying to keep on both sides at once, has lost what Prussia seems on the point of gaining by an honest neutrality,—the diadem of united Germany. Since the fortune of the Eastern question will probably release from Austria the Slavonic and Italian principalities, she will be compelled to descend from her pedestal, and take her place in the union as a subordinate German state.

The ecclesiastical interest of Prussia in the East has been secured by England herself, when there was no reason to believe that she would ever take arms against Christianity. The English-Prussian mission at Jerusalem, of which more will be said hereafter, will be quite as likely to lead England to the right as Prussia to the wrong.

Beside the political benefit of the German empire in breaking up conflicting policies, and in the formation of a central sovereignty, an object alike of executive strength, of national allegiance, and of popular affection, an ecclesiastical good will arise in the new life given to the elements of the Reformation, which not only in Germany, but in the rest of the world, must produce at last a greater and greater conformity in the Roman church to the primitive fellowship, both in discipline and in doctrine, from which she has wandered sadly and afar, until on the soil of the Reformation, on the foundation built by prophets, apostles, and martyrs, having one adorable corner-stone, the united German States shall become the united German Church; and thus the

key-note shall be given to the hymn of triumph to be sung ere long by Christendom, once more rejoicing in a common faith, and gathered in one Holy Church.

An elaborate discussion would here be proper, on the questions connected with Poland and Hungary ; but a brief notice only can be given. The multiplication of nationalities is not desirable, and in this age of the world not possible. We are living in the last great era of reaction against the division and subdivision of nations into separate independencies. The tendency of the age is to comprehensive consolidation ; and, when the number of insipid and feeble nationalities should rather grow less than greater, it seems like rebellion against the moral force of the universe, to set up a crowd of little sovereignties that cannot stand alone, to be in perpetual pupilage, and far more likely to be unjustly dealt with as independent states than as members of great empires. The affinities of Poland are sufficiently close with the states to which it now belongs, to assure the Polish people of as good a chance of prosperity and honor as theirs with whose civil society they have now become blended ; and, even if the nationality of Poland should be restored, the best lovers of liberty will require some guaranties that it shall not be what Poland was for a long time, a purgatory of the people, and an arena for the nobles to act towards each other like gladiators. If England

and France mean to give over the peasantry of Poland to the tender mercies of the Polish nobility, they should give due notice, that men may prepare their minds to see reproduced a state of oppression and wrong exceeded by nothing on earth, unless by the cruelty of the Turks at the height of their power towards their Christian victims. The vials of calumnation have been poured forth on the partition of Poland. That act is not here defended; but before Poland is restored by England and France, let some security be given that it shall be a Poland of the people, and not of the nobles. That Poland has had as pure patriots, as glorious martyrs, as ever lived, is true; but history deals with aggregates, with individuals only as representatives; and there is no plainer historical fact than this, that the ruin of Poland was brought about, not by the rapacity of her neighbors, but by the haughty tyranny of the most abandoned nobility that ever dishonored any nation, or caused the destruction of any country. The peasantry of Poland are safer and freer in the hands of Russia, Prussia, yes! even of Austria, than they were when Poland was nominally an European state, but really a Pandemonium of horrors. That subordinates may have been at times cruel and savage, is no doubt true; but that they have caused a hundredth part of the woe which was borne from Polish kings or nobles, is not so certain. Whatever good elements there may exist in Poland, and no doubt there are many, even among the wrecks of her nobility, will

be much more likely to work out the problem of success with their present affinities, than by a return to old forms.

The name of Poland was once full of terror ; and though it is now one of weakness and pity, let humanity hope that no change will be made except such as shall advance the Poles, the poorest as well as the richest, instead of dragging them back to a state of civil and social perdition. How the fate of Poland may be influenced by the Slavonic problem, cannot now be said ; but, England and France can do nothing for Poland except by a liberal policy towards the Slavonic ascendancy in eastern Europe ; but, since this is farthest from their thoughts, Poland may be quite as advantageously left to the care of Russia, as brought under the wings of the Western Alliance. Poland has no better friend on earth than Alexander the Second, Emperor of Russia ; and she will rue the day in sackcloth and ashes, if she shall seek other friends, who care for her only as an instrument and a hobby.

The Hungarian question is one of more direct and immediate moment than that of Poland ; yet even here, the error is in endeavors to repeat the past. That Hungary may be better off by obeying other affinities than those which now bind her to Austria, is probable ; but of what good to Hungary will be a separate establishment in a region where the union of states can be the only condition of progressive life ? She might sustain a spasmodic na-

tionality, but in twenty years the world might see the horrors of Poland revived; and then Hungary would lose, as Poland has done, every vestige of independence. Hungary, even under the rule of Austria, retains her natural divisions of territory; she is not torn asunder, as her northern neighbor has been; she has life, vigor, and a social if not a civil nationality. Why cannot Hungary live and prosper, be happy and progressive, as well as many, very many, states which have become merged in great and expansive empires? Would it be worth while that the provinces of France or of Spain should set up each a separate independence? Is not the separation of Spain and Portugal a mutual injury, which cannot too soon be remedied by a blending of the nations and a union of the crowns? What could Scotland or Ireland gain by separation from the British empire but inconceivable disasters, to which the present sufferings of either would be, in comparison, but the summer shower to the deluge? The alleviation of Ireland depends not on separation, but on just and beneficent laws proceeding from the central source. Hungary forms precisely the condition of civilization and the mixture of races which would infallibly make her independent existence a curse to herself and to the world, a constant scene of anarchy and blood. She would long for some strong arm to save her from herself. It is a hard saying, but its truth defies contradiction, that nationality is sometimes like the balance of power itself, a chimera, a

phantasm, a will o' the wisp. It may wring the heart of patriotism to submit at the very time when submission may be the highest duty of patriotism. Spain knows this, to her sorrow. What did she not suffer, what did she not bring England to suffer, on the plea of Spanish nationality? She got it with a vengeance. She found the apples of Sodom in her nationality, and absolutism of the worst kind in her liberty; when she might have made the name of Spain once more powerful and glorious, by consenting that a Bonaparte should hold the helm. In pages before, the balance of power has been called the shadow of death; exclusive nationality may also be the shadow of death, as Spain knows to her cost, and as Hungary herself would know, should she resist the imperial tide of Slavonic greatness and splendor.

Of what use is a tottering, crumbling nation to itself or to the world, when union with a great nation would impart stability to the trembling limbs and vigor to imbecile counsels? A fortress of stone is better than a turret of straw to resist invasion, and a noble ship is better than a boat to breast the tempest of the sea. Political forces, to be effectual, must be concentrated; and resistance to them on the plea of nationality may bring losses of vigor which a century of peace cannot make good. Human welfare, laws, learning, civilization, Christianity, all that is good on earth, of however small beginnings, have proceeded to final victory in the march

of great empires ; and it is not a theoretical but a practical question, how far it is wise to resist the lessons of history and the course of Providence. Liberty is a blessing which nationality may ruin, and which imperial allegiance may save and cherish.

Hungary, with the other non-German provinces of Austria, out of Italy, may reach a higher development, and be more harmoniously blended, as parts of the great domain to be formed in unison with Turkey in Europe, and with Greece, whether as an extension of Russia, or as a southern Slavonic empire, than by her present position ; but whatever may be her destiny, she could not more fervently deprecate any thing than to be one of a wrangling crew of nationalities on the banks of the Danube. Loyalty to absolute power is better than political suicide.

Italy, also,—poor Italy! she is the victim of the same morbid desire of an exclusive nationality, morbid because there seems to be in Italy no honest wish for a united Italy, in any way or form, but only for the separate nationality of each of the small states of Italy. How different in France! The provinces of France feel their share in the general good and honor of the state, and do not insist upon an absurd nationality of a few miles square. Ask a Frenchman what he means by nationality, and he will reply “The glory of all France;” ask an Italian, and he will say “The traditions of my native town,”

Italy has been proclaimed the victim of all nations. Poetry has wept and patriotism has sighed over Italian subjection; yet, unless ancient records speak false, Italy has had her share in the government of the world, and might have continued a nation but for her own criminal folly. Italy is the victim of her own insincere devotion to nationality. She might have been a united Italy at any time during the last eight hundred years; but she has declaimed about nationality till she was hoarse, when all that she meant was the independence of Genoa or of Florence, of Naples or of Rome. By such absurdities she has invited foreign aggression; and she has carried on her detestable quarrels for ages, till her civic strength has gone; and the Italian statesman of large and liberal mind, who should now sincerely write and labor for a true Italian nationality, would be more likely to receive a stiletto in his back, or the juice of hemlock in his food, than the thanks and favor of his countrymen. Hence, Italian revolutions leave Italy worse than before, as regards their professed object. They begin, perhaps, with the cry of unity, but end in division and shame. In what a startling contrast are French revolutions, which begin, it may be, in madness and division, but end in unity and consolidation. Italian revolutions are centrifugal; French revolutions are centripetal. In this distinction is found the key of Italian and French history.

If Italy means to improve herself, if she does

not wish to see the whole world leaving her, the mother of arts and sciences, behind, if she wishes to be an Italy, and not a collection of Austrian provinces, let her have another opportunity to form one dominion, with the understanding that if she fails, all dreams and hopes of one Italian state are to be thrown forever to the winds. If there be a reigning prince in Italy who can unite the Italians, let him be chosen ; but, if local jealousies can only be subdued by magnanimously receiving from abroad one who by ability, attractive gentleness, and political association may confer dignity and assimilate divisions, let the people of Italy reflect whether they can do better than to found a joint empire under the young American Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, whose bravery, courtesy, culture, and personal presence mark him as born for better things than a lieutenancy in the French army. A new coronation in the cathedral of Milan, would introduce an era of joy to Italy, in which all men would sympathize ; for, notwithstanding the vexatious characteristics of Italian politics, and the crimes of Italian society, the affection for Italy throughout the world is deep, sincere, and abiding.

Italy stands by herself geographically, and is not, like Hungary or Poland, in a system. It is admitted that Hungary has made great sacrifices to secure her independence, and she may yet find a compensation for them all in the wealth, culture, and progress derived from new principles of assimilation.

Poles have acquired honor for themselves and for Russia in the civil and military service of the united dominion ; and Hungarians may yet win more glory for themselves and for eastern Europe by merging their institutions in those of the great Slavonic state, than by a vain and exhausting effort to sustain a factious nationality, an island of discord in a sea of unity and order. Hungarians, from their historical ascendancy, may yet claim and receive high duties to fulfill in the direction of eastern Europe ; Kossuth himself may yet sustain by honorable allegiance the Christian throne of Constantinople ; but if Hungary shall insist upon a separation and an isolated political life, when her highest duty as well as highest glory is to join her brilliancy to the splendor of the diadem about to irradiate eastern Europe from the towers of Byzantium, she will be false to herself, false to humanity, false to God. And if she shall be prevailed upon by the Western Alliance to forsake her natural affinities, she will be forsaken in turn as soon as she shall have accomplished the objects of the Western Allies, who seem determined to leave no measure unimproved that shall bring no matter what or how great disaster, if it shall further their diabolical object of admitting Turkish sovereignty to the full communion of the European system. The United States dissented plainly from the purposes avowed by the Holy Alliance in days gone by ; but that alliance, at least recognized the Christian authority of civil and religious power ; and

ardently as America loves liberty, she loves her because she is divine, and determined as she is to choose and to keep her own forms of municipal administration, and knowing as she does, that Christianity is the fountain of all the blessings of man, having found the sanction of her own Revolution in deep religious principle, and having set up as soon as it was accomplished, the fortresses of religious culture, she will not look with favor upon the desperate course of the Western Alliance, if it shall indeed labor to precipitate the elements of disorder, now held in solution by Christian authorities and rules. England and France will weaken their own stability as great nations, and as destined to be greater still, by fighting against the spirit of the age. In former times, humanity has often had the most to gain by separation, independence, isolation. Now, all the conditions of civilization, the wonderful inventions which dissolve the properties of space and time, the hopes and labors of humanity, the divine end of existence, all require the increased vigor of central sovereignties the world over. And when civil order shall thus have reached the approximation of its final object in the formation of expansive empires, the religious principle will consolidate the whole in one great and harmonious family. Thus, universal empire, the dream of conquerors from Alexander to Napoleon, ever alluring, ever receding, shall be at least fulfilled on earth in the millennial glory of the Christian Church.

CHAPTER V.

The false Policy of England and France as Christian nations. The Right of Conquest. Mahometan Protection of Christianity. The Holy Places. Russia and the Greek Church. The Rejection by the Sublime Porte of the Note of the Four Powers.

THE course of the Western Alliance is not only false philosophy and false politics, but false religion. The overthrow of the Ottoman empire is not to be desired by the violation of any Christian duty. Christendom has not been in haste to recover the empire of the East. The Turks have had a long lease of the soil consecrated by the memorials of the Christian faith, and by its triumphs over the Grecian and Roman mythologies. Neither the law of God nor the law of man requires this lease to be perpetual. The time is up.

It is said that the Mahometan power holds the East by the right of conquest; yet the very phrase, excludes the idea of perpetuity of right. The title of the stronger arm, if it be the only title, is valid only while the arm is stronger. Take not from injured weakness the consolation that it may become in time victorious strength. If the tie of humanity

binds us to the Turks, the tie of a common faith binds us to the Christians whom they have oppressed. We are commanded to love our enemies, to do them good and not evil; but no precept directs us to give them a scepter to enslave, injure, and murder our friends for a thousand years. No principle, human or divine, commends to our charity the Turks and excludes from it the Greeks, Armenians, and other Christians of the East. No duty requires that the Moslem tyranny should be sustained by the energies of Christian civilization, because it is an established outrage; that the Christian communions of the East should be oppressed forever, because they have been oppressed for ten centuries. There is not a man who has followed the aggressive marches of Islam westward, until her opprobrious history was crowned by the capture of Constantinople, who will dare to say that the Turks have not received a full measure of forbearance from Christendom. The Christian powers have either seen in silence the cruelties suffered by the Christians of the East; or, if they have at times interfered, it was often only to protest in words, to which fair apologies may have been given, to be followed by habitual repetitions of the causes of offense.

Russia is complained of for aggressiveness upon Turkey, when England and France know as well as Russia that the Turks should not have been permitted to hold Constantinople for a hundred years. Three centuries ago the Cross should have been

restored to honor in the courts and temples of Justinian. Not to review all the crimes of Turkish history,—Russia, England, and France, should be brought to the bar of universal Christendom, to give good reasons, if they can, why the Ottoman empire survived the massacre at Scio, and to satisfy the judgment of history for leaving their work less than half done. Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, had as clear a right to be free of the Turkish rule as Athens.

Woe to that despotism which has no better title than continuity. “Let not the Turks be injured.” Very well; none wish to injure them; but, nevertheless, their sovereignty over Christians must stop, and that quick. Some men argue as if the Turks had a free privilege to injure Christians, as they will or can; and that Christians must suffer forever, because they have suffered so long. If he is an infidel who will not give food to his enemies, he is worse than an infidel who will not provide for his own household.

But it is said the Turks are willing to place Christians on a footing of equality before the law. The Sublime Porte will make as many concessions as may be required, in form, provided that nothing shall touch its sovereignty. The Sublime Porte has been prolific in promises and sparing of fulfillment. If the Sublime Porte is unwilling to make practical the rights of the Christians, that is a good reason why it should give place to a scepter that will be

eager to do so ; if its best intentions it cannot fulfill, that is a good reason for a sovereignty that will have not only intentions but power. If subordinate agents or Moslem traditions interfere with the decrees of the Sublime Porte, let the decrees, agents, and traditions, be overruled by Christian authority. But the Turks would make no concession of Christian equality before the law, had they not been appalled by the signs of the times. Their's is a death-bed repentance. Reformations vowed in the presence of the King of terrors may fail to be kept, if the ashy monarch withdraws his leaden scepter. Let the Ottoman empire gain new vigor by the help of her Christian allies, and then see what will become of Christian equality. The Christians of the East will have no security, while the Ottoman empire endures, though decrees in their favor should be daily signed by the Sublime Porte ; for as soon as the foreign pressure is gone, the rod of the tyrant will fall heavier than before. But, concede magnanimity, sincerity, equity, every virtue to the present representatives of Mahomet. What then ? Simply this. It is not for Turks to say what rights Christians shall enjoy on Christian soil, but for Christians to say what privileges Turks shall have in the lands which their fathers overcame by fire and sword. It is for Christians, not for Turks, to grant boons ; for Turks, not for Christians, to accept them. What if the Turks hold power by the right of conquest ! Must all Christendom stand

looking on for ages, saying nothing, doing nothing, while their brethren in the faith suffer the horrors of Moslem rule, because the right of conquest is inviolable? Must Pilgrim and Christian stay forever in the dungeon of Giant Despair, because to use the key of escape will interfere with the right of conquest, by which they were first brought into captivity? Is not the right of conquest as good for Christians as for Turks? Yet Christian sovereigns are opposing another Christian sovereign, for the avowed reason that his policy tends to overturn a dominion which, as these sovereigns know, has lasted for ages to the prejudice and dishonor of the Christian name. England and France admit the Turkish right of conquest, deny the Russian right of conquest, and are astounded because America questions whether their right of conquest is judiciously used in this war against Russia, to punish her for seeking to enforce the principle that Christians as well as Turks have rights.

But British statesmen will maintain that there is no need of interference from abroad at Constantinople, because the Sublime Porte will protect the Christian religion. Indeed! What gracious condescension! The sword of Mahomet will protect the Christian religion! The Koran will take Christianity under its wings! If a Mussulman becomes a Christian he may feel the cord or the cimeter, notwithstanding the concession wrung ten years ago from the Sublime Porte; if a Christian enters the grounds of the Mosque

of Omar, he must die ; but, nevertheless, the Sublime Porte is pleased to protect the Christian religion ; and brave Englishmen, honorable Englishmen, noble Englishmen, Christian Englishmen fall on their knees, offering obsequious thanks for such protection of their faith, and kissing the scepter of Islam red with the blood of Christians, extended to them from the throne of Constantine. England ! Christian England ! in God's name speak ! where is the bond which consigns the protection of Christianity to its most implacable and persistent enemy ? Where is the bond, which makes Mahometan sovereignty the nurse of that faith which it has tried to quench in blood and burn with fire ? Where, in the archives of Heaven, earth, or hell, is that bond to be found ? Find it, produce it, read it. What court has sanctioned it ? Does it bear the seal and signature of the great Chancellor of human salvation ? If not, it is void, away with it.

Were the Sublime Porte a Pagan power, Christianity might accept protection ; but in the place where she once ruled with unquestionable authority, Moslem protection is opprobrious in word and in deed. Strong in the strength of Christ, let Christianity protect herself. The Christian faith once more enthroned where she has the right to reign, will ask no protection from the false prophet or from any of his crew.

That Christianity needs protection when Christian princes and cabinets forsake her, is true ; but

her reliance is not on an arm clotted with Christian gore, but on that mighty arm which can save her in the straitest need, even though kings and queens and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord of Glory and his church, and even though that very strength shall be blasphemously invoked in behalf of efforts made to sustain the Ottoman empire, the enemy of Christ and of his cross. The Emperor Nicholas in asserting that England and France were fighting for the foes of Christianity was right, both as regards the conditions which require that the Mahometan sovereignty should cease, and the simple fact which all the world can see.

It must, however, be conceded that Russia herself, at the outset, embarrassed the Eastern question by subordinate issues, and gave a color of excuse, though only a color, for the interference of the Western powers in behalf of Turkey. The emperor of Russia, knowing how vain are all arrangements with the Sublime Porte, which is either too weak or too faithless to fulfill them, should have called upon all the Christian powers, without subterfuge or concealment, to make such a joint requisition respecting the rights of Christianity in the East, as would have compelled the Sublime Porte, finding all Christendom awake after the sleep of ages, to resign to the Christian governments the entire legislation of the Ottoman empire as regards the Christian population. By thus waiving the settlement of his exclusive rights as the acknowledged defender of the Greek

Church, the invasion of whose guaranties by the wily policy of France gave immediate occasion for the rise of the Eastern question, and by a frank acknowledgement of the common obligations and rights of Christendom in the East, the emperor of Russia would have placed his cause upon the high ground of enlightened and Catholic Christian sentiment and decision ; and the simple question before the Christian world then, would have been that of the rights of Christianity itself, and not merely those of any single community of Christians. Had the points been so presented, and had the demand, so made by the chief Christian powers in the name and behalf of all Christendom, been rejected by the Sublime Porte, the way would have been clear for the unanimous requisition of the Christian states for the complete surrender of the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte over the domain of the first Christian empire and the homestead of the Christian faith. Had the Emperor Nicholas thus taken the initiative in the long-neglected duty of Christendom, he would have appealed directly to the sympathies of Christian people everywhere for a righteous design unequivocally avowed. In such a view of the case, single predilections being kept in the background for the sake of a great, general, and acknowledged good, a Christian state could hardly have been found ready so palpably to violate its Christian honor as not to join earnestly in an effort to fulfill, in the most just, efficient, and compassionate way, the historic duty

of Christendom. For had the simple question been between the permanence of Mahometan power and the restoration of Christian sovereignty, no government in Europe would have had any shadow of an apology for taking arms in support of Islam; for, in such circumstances, such an act would be one of direct and manifest apostacy. The plain question of allegiance to Mahomet or Christ has been obstructed by divided opinions and pretensions respecting the holy places, and by political and territorial considerations arising out of this mere speciality.

Thus it must be with candor admitted that the emperor Nicholas, though having just cause to complain of the action of France at the Sublime Porte, in seeking to overturn the relations of Russia in the East, had, nevertheless, the disadvantage in the Eastern question, so far as he had need of universal sympathy, in being but partly right in the special aspect of the case, though wholly right in the general tenor of his policy,—but partly right in his immediate demand, wholly right in the inevitable tendency, the overthrow of the Ottoman empire, whether designed or not,—but partly right as regards the rival claims of the Greek and Latin Churches, wholly right in so far as he was struggling for the prerogatives of the Christian religion and of the universal Church. It is most gratifying to see that Russian counsels are taking a direction more calculated to secure the general sympathy and hopes of Christendom. Russia is drawing nearer and nearer

the position which she should have taken at first. And although nothing which she has said, done, or desired has justified the extremities to which England and France have proceeded to their own dishonor as Christian states, yet it is due to Russia to say, that by her own proposition to open the question of the rights of the Eastern Christians of whatever organization to the free discussion and decision of the Christian powers, she has magnanimously prepared the way for England and France to retire from their false position without humiliation; and this action, considering that Russia is in truth the victorious party thus far, not only deserves and will receive contemporary applause and historical respect, but it will place a weight of the most criminal responsibility upon England and France, if they refuse to consider in good faith the propositions of Russia to regard the interests of Christianity in the East without distinction of form. The only thing needed to give practical force to the intentions of Russia is to issue a proclamation inviting a new Congress of the chief Christian powers of both hemispheres to deliberate upon the Eastern question in all its length and breadth.

It is far from the design of these pages to throw a single malign arrow at the Greek Church, or at any of its just rights and claims. Her territorial compass holds the places to which the eyes of Christians throughout the world turn with tears of sorrowful rapture; but the Greek Church knows that she

became a bulwark of the Holy Faith in consequence of the victory which Christianity acquired in the Roman empire ; and if she afterwards maintained a separate existence, this fact does not diminish the obligations of gratitude toward the imperial strength, by which, on the removal of the seat of power to Constantinople, she was first placed, as a part of the Christian Church, in a position of might and splendor. Whose name is more honored throughout the East than that of Helena, the mother of Constantine ? Yet will the Eastern Churches claim her as exclusively theirs, or maintain that her noble life was spent not for the faith which she loved, but for the local communions of the East ? Or will the Eastern Churches claim Constantine as theirs alone ? Is he not held in veneration by all Christian people everywhere as the bright star under whose radiance borrowed from the Star of Bethlehem, the wise men came from the haunts of Pagan learning to worship Christ, no longer at an Eastern inn, but honored on an Eastern throne ? Or, if the Greek Church and her sisters in the East claim Helena and Constantine as theirs, let them know that there is a holier mother than Helena, a holier son than Constantine, and while all generations shall call that Mother blessed, and while men can look for salvation only to that Son, all rival claims to the Holy Places of Judea will be set at naught by sincere and faithful Christian hearts.

By the might of the converted Roman Empire the Eastern Church received the ecclesiastical sov-

ereignty over the lands hallowed by the way of the Cross. When, at last, she fell into captivity, when Jerusalem was taken by the infidels, Western arms broke for a time her chains; and when she fell again into the same cruel net of woe, if Western valor was not strong enough to save her, Western suffering was severe enough to prove that Jerusalem was held as dear among the valleys of France, along the green meadows of England, in the hamlets of Germany, as by those who suffered daily agony beneath the immediate rod of the oppressor. Jerusalem belongs no more to the Greek Church than to the Latin, no more to that than to the English Church, no more to that than to all Christian people, of whatever name, throughout the world. It is indeed a crown of praise, that any of the rulers of the earth feel their duty to defend from profanation the spot where he who had no rest in life found it at last in death, until he rose to give assurance of immortal bliss; it is right that kings and princes should secure from insult the lands which saw the Incarnation of the King of Kings. Their duty has been long neglected in apathy; but, as regards the question of right, the obscurest American who yet reveres his Lord, the humblest English Christian, endowed with the simple piety of the Shepherd of Salisbury Plain, the lowliest French peasant, who adores Him for whose honor Saint Louis fought and suffered until his royal brow felt the fatal touch, and in whose service Fénélon, the exemplar of a faithful shepherd, lived and

died, the German who kneels at either altar on the banks of the Rhine, all Christian men everywhere, clerical or lay,—have as valid a right in Jerusalem as the hierarchy of the Greek Church, or that of Rome, or of England, or as the emperor of Russia, the emperor of France, the king of Prussia, the sovereign of the British isles, or as any of the dwellers in courts and palaces. For man, as he stands without distinction in the presence of God, Christianity was sent to earth; and crowns, coronets, and illustrious orders can only claim exalted duties in her holy cause.

But if the Greek Church has no stronger individual right than any other community of Christian people, she has a representative right of peculiar significance and value. Occupying the soil of the East, and dissenting from the claims of the Roman See, she represents all parts of Christendom outside the Roman communion, as a guardian, in their name, of the Holy Places, not against the joint rights of the Roman Church as a community of Christians, but against her claims to exclusive jurisdiction as the supreme power of Christendom. The Roman Church, so far from making or exercising claim of supremacy in the early ages, could hardly be said to exist until long after Constantinople was the seat of ecclesiastical as well as of temporal power. The question which was the seceder, the Greek Church or the Latin, would require too intricate and extended a discussion for the present object; but

the fact is plain, that the Eastern Church was exercising sovereign prerogatives at Constantinople when the Roman episcopate had no firm provincial authority.

Whatever representative character the Greek Church may have, Russia, as the only efficient sovereignty acknowledging her faith, shares with her; and although dissent has been expressed from the claims of Russia as the exclusive guardian of the Holy Places, just credit is not intended to be withheld from her representative services in the protection of the rights at Jerusalem of Christians who refuse allegiance to the Roman See. Accordingly, many who cannot acknowledge that the Greek Church is the proprietor of the sacred places of Christianity, or that she has any right of perpetual predominance at Jerusalem, may yet most heartily bid Russia God speed not only as the champion of the Cross against the Crescent, but as the defender of the privileges of all Christians who deny the authority of Rome as the supreme head of Christendom, and as the infallible exponent of Catholic doctrine. In this respect, the opposition of England to Russia, with whom she ought to work faithfully for a common object, is deplorable, and requires to be anathematized with the utmost capacity of human speech.

The temporary release of the Eastern Christians and of the Holy Cities was brought about by Western Catholicity; and their final liberation may be

effected by the same means. The Christian communions of Asia yielded to the sovereignty of Western princes at Jerusalem during the interval of its freedom, knowing that on them alone the hopes of any continuance could be placed ; and had it not been for this confidence, it is doubtful whether even for a short time, the Christians would have held Jerusalem. Reliance may be again required upon Western sovereignty over Jerusalem, though that city will ever remain the shrine of universal Christian affection. The restoration of Constantinople as a Christian capital will diffuse such joy throughout Christendom, that, outside of cabinets, jealousies and envies will have little place. So with Alexandria. So with Jerusalem. The interest in the three great cities will be everywhere strengthened and deepened. Certainly, the American when he shall see the Cross glittering again on Santa Sophia, will not repine because it has been restored to its place by Russia ; and he will walk the streets of Jerusalem with no less fervor, because of the restoration by England of the city of David, as the seat of splendor and power, to be held not for eighty years, but for all coming ages, until Jerusalem herself shall fall in the burning crash of worlds.

Of course, the glory and power of England in the East depend upon her return to the faith which she has now forsworn. If she fails to return, the duty of founding Anglo-Saxon institutions in Asia Minor and in Syria, not in disregard, but in respect

and support of the Greeks and of all other resident Christians, will fall to other hands. If the people of the East find England deserting them in their hour of need, they may look eagerly beyond the bounds of Europe and the Atlantic for help; and they will not look in vain. American influence, established in Western Asia, with its well understood laws of extension and progress, may bring even before the people of India the question of preference between American and English institutions. It would be surprising if that ascendancy in India which England regards as the bulwark of her greatness, and the security of which may be one of the motives of the war, should be put in peril, not from the advance of Russia, but from the transplanting into Asiatic soil of the influences of the Anglo-Saxon empire of the West, which has been thought to have no interest in the Eastern question beyond the supposed duty of sustaining England, right or wrong.

This is only a contingency on the continuance of English allegiance to Mecca. There is no wish on any side to involve America in a foreign war; and notwithstanding that a contest which concerns the progress of Christianity is not foreign, and notwithstanding also, that Russia, now alienated from England by English envy of her right to grow, might be very ready to accept American co-operation in restoring the East to Christian sovereignty,—yet there is a disposition to wait patiently for England to return to a better mind, before America considers

how soon she must fulfill the duties which England has thus far rejected.

The liberation of the Holy Land from the sovereignty of the Turks, is as binding on America as on England, as a principle; and the conduct of England may change the principle into a practical duty. Jerusalem is the heart of Christendom, and the remotest veins feel its pervading power. The appropriate penalty of allowing that heart to be bound so long by the iron chain of Mahomet has been suffered, in division, corruption, and spiritual torpor. The redemption of Jerusalem ages ago, might have presented now the spectacle of one pure, active, undivided Church. The hopes of unity gleam in the East. Under whatever sovereignty Jerusalem may rest, she will be the central seat, not of the Greek Church, not of the Latin Church, not of the English Church, not of the American Church, but of the one Holy Catholic Church of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The interest felt by Russia in the Greek Christians rests on a valid basis. The Greek Church and the Russian have such affinities as require that the stronger should help the weaker. The Greek Church is in bondage under a hostile and contemptuous creed, enslaved in her own house, reviled by those around, although they may profess to tolerate her presence. For ages a Christian man has been practically an outlaw, where a Christian hand first held the scepter of state. Christianity has crossed every

sea, and her teachings have been heard in almost every land ; kings have knelt in homage at her altars, and the highest gifts of intellect, imagination, and energy have been consecrated to her service ; yet, at this very day, to be a Christian is almost as great a reproach on the soil of Judea, as it was in that sad hour of our Lord's desertion when all his disciples forsook him and fled.

The Russian Church is the daughter of the Greek, and she has the power and the will, in the czar, to strike off the chains which bind the Greek communion to the throne of the sultan. It is very easy to talk of Russian hypocrisy, of religious pretences for political advancement ; but hypocrisy and enthusiasm are hardly consistent ; and even if Russian councils were hypocritical, a very hard charge to make, considering all the sacrifices which Russia has made without reward in behalf of those of the same faith as hers, yet if the czar be a hypocrite, if Nesselrode be a hypocrite, if everybody connected with the government of Russia be hypocritical, and Christian sincerity and honesty are only to be found in the councils of St. James and of the Tuileries, if this be so,—how, nevertheless, can be explained the enthusiasm of the Russian people ? Call it fanaticism, call it superstition, call it what you will, but it is not hypocrisy. The intense feeling which pervades the Russian Church and the Russian people, may seem an utter mystery to those who understand not the spiritual affinity between the branch and the vine.

If the attractions of Grecian literature, of Grecian history, could make scholars in this hemisphere, unknown to Socrates and Plato, to Leonidas and Pericles, glow with ardor as they saw Greece rising in her might, and could impel some across an ocean and a continent to pay by their strong arms the classic debt, which they professed to owe, who can wonder at the religious attraction felt in Russia towards a Christian population at their very doors, who, having been in bondage for twice four hundred years, now see the hand appearing which shall strike off their grievous chains and emancipate their suffering hearts? They obey no classic spell, but that law of the Christian economy which makes all the members suffer when one is in pain and woe.

Christianity in the East wants no more treaties, no more stipulations of any kind, to be kept or broken, according to the will of the party in power at the Sublime Porte and to the intensity of foreign influence, but the right to rule her own household in the fear of God and for the good of man. England and France by resisting these righteous demands, are placed politically, religiously, historically, in a false position, from which they can be rescued only by the overthrow of the Mahometan administration of both countries, until the foreign policy accords with the historic trust of Christendom.

The note of the Four Powers, accepted by Russia, granted to the Sublime Porte the continuance of

its sovereignty, but demanded new guaranties for the rights of the Christian population. This note was rejected by the Sublime Porte. If this rejection was instigated by parties to the note, Russian duplicity, if real, is but the dust of the balance compared with that; if it was spontaneous, it freed Russia and the Four Powers from any further acknowledgment of Turkish sovereignty, which is in itself only a concession, or a permission, not a right, and has been such, ever since the Turks have held Constantinople.

It is proper to refer again to the Greek revolution, in vindication of the principle that the measure of rejected concession is sometimes the measure of compulsory demand. After the Greeks had been struggling for several years, discouraged, and even denounced by those who should have rendered seasonable and powerful aid, several of the great powers of Europe, whether repenting of their long indifference, or seeing that the spirit of revolution in Greece would not rest, until something should be done to change her relations to Turkey, interfered, and proposed certain terms to the Sublime Porte for the settlement of Greece, in which her dependence upon the sultan was acknowledged. Greece was still to remain a Turkish province, but with new privileges. The Sublime Porte not only rejected the propositions of Russia, England, and France, but was angry that they should interfere between her and a rebellious province. So far, how-

ever, were the three powers from being intimidated by Turkish displeasure, that they were bent upon securing their object in a more full and satisfactory way. The whole civilized world were looking on, Russia, England, and France could not recede. The crisis long provoked and long postponed came at last. The naval battle of Navarino afforded a glorious proof that there was still a Christian Europe, not only bold enough to speak, but strong enough to act in defence of Christian rights. The ultimate result was the independence of Greece.

Contrast this noble behavior with the conduct of England and France, when the terms to which they assented, in behalf of Russia, were rejected by the Sublime Porte. Russia was, indeed, a large and independent nation; Greece was a small and dependent province; but Russia was demanding rights for the persecuted and the oppressed, and great as may have been her prospective advantages, her immediate sacrifices were made for others, not for herself. Her demands England and France acknowledged to be just, or they would not have joined in their presentation for acceptance at Constantinople. The terms were rejected. Here was another opportunity afforded to prove the existence of a Christian Europe; but it was used only for abasement and humiliation. A Christian nation demanding, not the entire freedom of millions of oppressed Christians, but some alleviation only of their daily misery and the security of their religious rights, was scornfully dis-

missed from the precincts of the Sublime Porte ; and two other Christian nations who had acknowledged the justice of these claims, instead of consulting together how they should retrieve their insulted honor, and secure even greater benefits for Christianity than had been rejected, formed an implicit alliance with Turkey, and prepared to defend her by force, in resisting the demands to which they themselves were parties, and immediately set about attacking Russia in her strongholds ; and they have met all the success in their efforts which such treachery deserved. The purpose is to be weighed, not the result. Instead of another Navarino, history has had to record the intention to take Cronstadt, and the vain siege of Sebastopol.

It is some relief to turn from the terrible error of the Allies in besieging Sebastopol, an error, independent of the right or wrong of the war, to the great event which did not take place, the capture of Cronstadt. The play was well cast ; the announcements were amply made ; the audience was assembled, and in their good-will applauded vociferously beforehand ; the scenic decorations were remarkably captivating ; the gas was of prime quality, and superabundant ; every thing promised a brilliant performance. The piece was unavoidably delayed ; the excuses were at first patiently heard, at last impatiently. The actors came upon the stage, but said nothing, did nothing. They stood inarticulate and inactive in dumb show. It was said that the

directors did not mean that the piece should be performed, and deceived both the actors and spectators, merely intending to make an amusing excitement. Whatever was the reason, the great drama of the capture of Cronstadt, so lavishly prepared, so eagerly expected, was indefinitely postponed; and the expenses were not refunded.

Admiral Napier is said to have avowed, on his hilarious departure for the Baltic, that in three weeks he would be either in Cronstadt or in a place where he would be likely to receive a still warmer reception. Since the brave admiral is a man of his word, and yet did not enter Cronstadt within the time set, or even after a liberal grace, the conclusion is invincible that the Admiral Napier who is reported to have recently spoken in England in behalf of administrative reform, could only have been the disturbed ghost of the late commander of the Baltic Fleet. Or, if the Admiral has, indeed, returned in sound condition from his fiery trials, he may be ready to add to the stock of human knowledge by his subterranean experiences, in a way far more satisfactory than the mere imaginative vagaries of Dante. The admiral is well known to be of a highly excitable, if not poetical temperament. The literary world will impatiently await and intensely enjoy Napier's *Inferno*.

The rejection of the note of the Four Powers by the Sublime Porte, and the consequent action of the Western Alliance, placed Russia at once in a new

position. Before the negotiation closed, the czar was merely a special claimant; afterwards he became the representative of Christendom in the final conflict between the Crescent and the Cross. Of this new position, and of the new duties growing from it, as well as new sympathies, the Czar Nicholas became conscious before he died; and his successor, Alexander, faithfully adheres to the obligations resting upon him to insist upon the enjoyment of freedom of worship by all Christians subject to the Sublime Porte. Thus, England and France without intending it, have themselves drawn Russia from the position in which she could only expect divided sympathies, and placed her upon the very vantage-ground on which it is necessary that she should stand, in order to gain the entire and unrestricted approval of Christendom, whatever be the predilections of its various orders. The Allies have only themselves to thank for changing the special issue of the Eastern question, the rival authority of the Greek and Latin churches, into the general one of the ascendancy of Christianity or Islam in the East. Yet, as intimated before, Russia does not avail herself of this new position to secure her own advantage, but she has nobly opened the way for the Western Powers to forsake their false position with honor.

The present contest is daily assuming more and more the character of those mighty conflicts which led Christian hosts to Palestine centuries ago. But

the two nations which in those ages were foremost in the struggle, have now sworn, by solemn treaties, to sustain that very empire which they then strove to destroy. England and France send thousands of brave soldiers to a cruel grave, fill thousands of Christian homes with grief, mat with gore the gray hairs of the veteran and the sunny locks of the ruddy youth, in an unholy war against Russia, against Christianity, and, what is strangely significant, in the first steps of the war, against their own propositions for the settlement of the Eastern question.

England and France, if they shall cause the dawning liberty of the Eastern Christians to be quenched in night, will deserve and receive everlasting obloquy. Either the heel of the False Prophet will grind them to powder, using against them his recovered strength; or, if Islam shall fall, they may fall with it in common ruin. Russia, while contending for the rights of Christianity, if deserted by all the rest of Christendom, will yet stand like Abdiel, "faithful found among the faithless;" and, when the time of defence shall have passed, and the time to advance shall come, she will go forward, overcoming not only the forces of the False Prophet, but, if they oppose her, those also of apostate Christian nations, until the Crescent shall everywhere be humbled before the Cross, as the Pagan hosts of old melted before the march of Constantine, until the seat of the first Christian empire, for four dreary centuries the prey of the spoiler, shall be the capital

of a reformed and ransomed church, the joy and the light of the East. As saith God by his prophet Isaiah, "I have raised up one from the North, and he shall come; from the rising of the sun shall he call upon my name; and he shall come upon princes as upon mortar, and as a potter treadeth clay."* May Christian nations avoid that doom, by making speed to disannul their covenant with death! The cause of Russia is the cause of God.

All of Anglo-Saxon origin must feel, if they reflect, peculiar sorrow in seeing the glories of England shaded by her present alliance with the blackness of darkness. England owes her advancement in all that wins respect for nations, her laws, literature, social culture, her energy in commerce, agriculture, manufactures, her glory abroad, and her thrift at home, her cathedrals and universities, her castles, cottages and palaces, all that she has, and is, and hopes to be, to the expansive and ennobling power of the Christian Faith. Now is the hour to stand by that Faith which has made Pagan Britain the first of Christian lands, and for her challenged universal honor; yet she renounces allegiance to her Lord, who has given to her an arm of power in every land and has baptized her blessings with the waters of every sea. Now is the crisis of English destiny. If England shall continue to deny Christ, the splendor of ages will pale as the early dew, and that Red Cross

* Isaiah, xli. 25.

banner, the pledge of victory when advancing as the ensign of a Christian realm,—that Red Cross banner, hallowed by the glories of a thousand years, and by the memory of brave knights and of a captive king who fought in Holy Palestine,—that Red Cross banner, if, no longer true, it shall infold the Crescent in brotherly embrace, it will fall with that, and will be eaten by the moths and rust of oblivion. England,—Christian England,—if she be ruled by a Moslem cabinet, will set like the morning star, never to rise again !

CHAPTER VI.

The Crimea. The Vienna Conference. English Reform. The Eastern question and the Roman Supremacy. The Speech of Gen. Cass in the Senate. The American Missionaries. Jerusalem the Capital of the Christian Church.

IF, at the outset of the war in the East, English power seemed so consolidated and so easily to be brought to bear upon any object of national policy, that fears of the humiliation of England would have appeared idle, or the result of a hatred which makes "the wish the father to the thought," it may now be conceded by those on this continent who invariably approve English policy, that those who honor England as cordially as they, for all that is honorable in her history and her institutions, who admire whatever is admirable in her firmness, her bravery, her energy and progress, in her exalted culture and in her glorious Church, that such may love England none the less but more because, by the right of that common ancestry of which so much is said, they dare to censure her false position as the exponent of Anglo-Saxon civilization and of Anglo-Saxon Catholicity. England is not so sure of victory now, as when she dispatched one of the bravest of her admirals to the Baltic with exuberant glee, with streaming banners and exulting voices, with all the honors of a triumph

in anticipation,—and received him back in silence, as one who had deserved well of his country for having exercised “discretion, the better part of valor.”

What of the expedition to the Crimea? Some brave deeds have been done by English and French soldiers, which challenge the admiration of those who can look on war as one of the fine arts, and can pronounce a well-fought field of blood as beautiful as a painted battle-piece. But war unsanctioned by causes and results, is murder. A soldier, unless he represents a principle, is a butcher. England and France have avowed no cause, no principle, which can stand an hour when confronted with the law of nations and the rights of Christianity. The fortitude of the Allied armies in the Crimea, if sustained in behalf of Christian institutions, would enroll the names of all in the records of the noble army of martyrs. If Russia were a Pagan power, advancing with terrible might to overturn a Christian dominion, as the Turks came upon Constantinople, the resistance of England and France to her aggression would be glorious; but that England and France, instead even of defending Turkey upon her soil, should make an aggression upon Russian territory, to prevent a purpose which was not avowed, and if avowed would deserve honor instead of reproach, aid instead of opposition,—that England and France should endeavor to desolate the southern coast of Russia, in order to check the fair commercial advantages of Russia and the right to protect them in the Black sea, which is

all that she asks,—is an outrage upon the comity of nations. But the answer is, “Let Russia have these advantages, and she will soon be the master of Constantinople.” Very likely. It is a logical conclusion; but was any thing great and good ever done on earth except by progressive steps? How was English power founded in India? And what are the relations of England to those regions not yet incorporated with the British possessions in the East? The Principalities, whose anomalous political condition has excited the horror of England, lest Russia should at length gain a complete sovereignty over them, and thus, aided by her commercial marine and her navy, make her gradual way southward and finally cast anchor, not to weigh it again, in the harbor of Constantinople,—these very Principalities, which are so mingled with the question of Russian power in the Black Sea, stand in a similar relation to St. Petersburg as some of the provinces of India stand to the British crown. This assertion is made on the authority of Henry Wheaton, a man who represented the United States at Berlin with honor and ability, whose means of information on European affairs in general gave him a right to speak with decision, and whose communications to the government at Washington were among its most valuable records, as the partial revelation of them discloses; and a man who was recalled at the very time when his services, always useful, would have been of pre-eminent importance. The diplomatic history of the United

States contains few incidents more contemptibly dishonorable, mean, and stupid than the recall of Henry Wheaton. In a dispatch to the Secretary of State, dated at Berlin, 24th May, 1843, Mr. Wheaton says, "Russia has a concurrent voice in the appointment of the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the right of interposing in the election of the princes of Servia. It seems probable that the control of Russia over Servia will hereafter be exercised in the same manner as in the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, where Russian consuls exercise a similar influence over the local authorities, to that exercised by the British residents at the courts of the native princes of India, whose dominions are not yet formally annexed to the Anglo-Indian Empire."*

Some changes in these relations have been made, but the essential characteristics remain. Of course, the position of the Principalities now, during the continuance of the war, is in a state of exception, of which no logical use can be made. But, there is the principle. The reasons which induce England to insist upon a surrender of Russian control over the Principalities might be urged with equal force against her own interference in those districts in India which, though not yet annexed to her dominion, are regarded as candidates for annexation ; and, in gaining the recognition of this joint interest of

* Wheaton's Elements of International Law, sixth edition, with notes by W. B. Lawrence. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1855, page 50, note (a).

the European Powers in the Principalities, at the recent Congress of Vienna, England has put into the hands of Russia, and of Europe generally, a weapon which may yet be brought down with weight on English predominance in India. In that conference Russia conceded altogether too much on the question of the Principalities; and England and France will yet be very glad to recall and revise that agreement; and by granting to Russia complete sovereignty over the Principalities, they will secure, what their own conceded demands have put in peril, English stability in India, and French authority in Africa.

England and France desire peace. They proposed conditions, not of peace, but of preparatory negotiation. The propositions were accepted on that understanding. The conference was held, England, with lordly complacency, desired no arrangements that would be injurious to the honor of Russia, that is, it is to be supposed, as England understands it; and, if so, England, or at least her representative at the Congress of Vienna, has no conception what national honor is, what it requires, what it justifies. If the demand and the general behavior of Lord John Russell at the conference of Vienna are to be taken as an exemplification of English ideas of national honor, then it follows that it is not compatible with the honor of any nation to think, speak, or act in any way inconsistent with the decrees of the Parliament of Great Britain, or

with the propositions of English plenipotentiaries at the courts and conferences of Europe. England demanded from Russia, at the Vienna conference, terms respecting the privileges of the Black Sea and the security of Russian power, as it now stands there, which would have been abject and humiliating if Cronstadt and Sebastopol were in ruins, and if the allied armies occupied St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Warsaw. The demands of England and France were relieved only by their insolence from being ridiculous. In one respect, the Western Alliance gained a point of dignity at the Vienna conference. Their claims respecting the Black Sea reached the dignity of impudence. It was the excess of courtesy, that, on the utterance of such demands, the Russian plenipotentiary did not at once declare that Russia came to the conference to treat on points of national honor, and not to be gratuitously insulted ; that no such propositions could be for a moment considered ; and that the conference was now closed, as far as concerned Russia, who, while resisting invasion of her soil, and thus far having had no occasion to surrender, could not regard it as compatible with her honor to listen to such terms as the highwayman uses, who having his unarmed victim completely in his power, demands "Your money or your life." America would have been better pleased if the Russian representative, instead of communicating to St. Petersburg terms which were supposed to be entirely compatible with Rus-

sian honor, had instantly left the conference, and gone by the next conveyance to St. Petersburg, leaving my Lord John Russell to meditate on Russian obstinacy and English forbearance.

Meanwhile, the conference has closed. If Russia yielded point after point, to see to what extreme the Allies could go in seeking advantage, she proved that nothing would satisfy the Western Alliance but her complete subjection. For the third or fourth time, the responsibility of the war rests again on England and France. Russia is neither exhausted nor intimidated. Russia is in the right, and she knows it; and that consciousness is stronger than a thousand fleets and armies. All England is in mourning. If every campaign is to fill England with lamentation, and put further off the objects to be gained, how soon will the dirge give place to the song of victory? Sebastopol is not taken; and, should it be taken, Russia is not conquered. Besides, if it be taken, it must be kept. Can England or France maintain this Gibraltar of the Black Sea, an isolated position, at vast expense, and of no use except to Russia? If Sebastopol were on one of the banks of the Bosphorus, and in the power of England or France, it might stop the advance of Russia to Constantinople; but, being on the Crimea, it is not essential to the southward progress of Russia. The Sea of Azof, to be kept, must be occupied with an allied fleet; but the further off these fleets are from the western shore of the Black Sea, the

less likely they are to interfere with Russian advance. To hold Sebastopol or the Sea of Azof, from any design to keep Russia back, would be precisely like closing up two branches of a stream, in the vain hope of checking the main current, which would only derive fresh velocity and volume.

Russian policy is, to act on the defensive until she has exhausted the Allies. Then, with fresh forces, she will be ready to advance; and nothing that England or France can do, will stop her.

If Sebastopol shall be taken, it may be blown up; and then it will be only a grave, instead of a fortress. But, imagine it to stand. What will the Allies do? Flushed with victory, they will rush into the heart of Russia, and their course will not be seriously resisted. Once in, how will they get out? If it is even doubtful whether they can raise the siege of Sebastopol without utter destruction, what would they do if drawn into Russia, where overthrow would be annihilation? The victorious Charles the Twelfth taught the Russians how to conquer him. Forty years ago, a greater conqueror than he felt how fierce are the natural allies of Russia. From bloody Pultowa and burning Moscow, from the frozen plains and deadly marshes of Russia, the warning comes. If it be not heeded, other scepters will fall, and other diadems will be lost.

Again, the capture of Sebastopol, and the occupation of Southern Russia by the Allied armies

may lead to a Russian-American Alliance, offensive and defensive, in the East and the West. Will that aid the solution of the Eastern question according to the wishes of England and France? It is not necessary to refer to what Lord Clarendon may have said, or what he may have meant, regarding the objects of the Alliance with France. It is enough to know that the demands made at Vienna, combined with the siege of Sebastopol, are of universal significance. On the same grounds that England and France have attacked Sebastopol, they may attack New Orleans, San Francisco, and New York. New Orleans controls the Mississippi, and threatens Mexico, San Francisco threatens English and French power in the Pacific, New York threatens the commercial supremacy of England. God grant that the Allies may not compel this course! may they reflect in season, and withdraw from a position, the logical consequences of which may bring more work on their hands than they can well do!

There seems to be an essential divergence in the interpretations put upon the decisions of the Vienna conference by the cabinets of France and Russia. The circular note of Count Nesselrode and the columns of the Journal of St. Petersburg evidently contain the authoritative exposition of Russia. The discussions in the English Parliament betray a misunderstanding, on the part of those desiring peace, of the meaning of Russia in throwing the shield of

the public law over the condition of Turkey. Both in Count Nesselrode's note and in the Journal of St. Petersburg occur expressions which, when carefully weighed, will reveal the only mode in which Russia will consent to regard Turkey as belonging to the European system ; and, notwithstanding the seeming agreement, there are the seeds of a discrepancy which could not fail to spring up and to obstruct a final settlement on the basis of the preservation of Turkish sovereignty. It is very certain that Russia would be content with the application to the whole Ottoman empire of the principles acknowledged by the Powers at the late conference at Vienna regarding the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. These provinces have what must be called a divided sovereignty. Nominally, and to a certain practical extent, they are under the rule of the Sublime Porte, but their municipal organization is made effectual for order, prosperity, and religious freedom, by Russian direction. Russia yielded at Vienna her special protectorate over these Principalities, in behalf of a joint protectorate of the Christian Powers. In the phraseology of admitting these provinces to the public law of Europe, there is a vagueness which is substantially set right by the language of Count Nesselrode. The reason why this matter is dwelt upon is, because it settles what must be the future relations of the Ottoman empire to the law of nations, if permitted to hold a nominal sovereignty.

Count Nesselrode says, speaking of the late emperor Nicholas, "In his august thoughts he had essentially at heart to maintain the populations of Moldavia, Wallachia, and of Servia in the peaceful enjoyment of the religious and civil immunities which Russia had assured to them as the price of her blood shed for a century in the cause of her co-religionists. * * * * * These immunities remain intact. The protocols of Vienna, 2 and 3, have served to consolidate their maintenance under the collective guarantee of all the high contracting parties. By this guarantee the privileged *regime* of the Principalities enters the domain of the law of public right in Europe. Hitherto the care of watching over the execution of the engagement taken by the Porte in her quality of sovereign power fell upon Russia alone. Henceforth she will share the obligation with the other guaranteeing powers."

Speaking of the obligation assumed by Russia respecting the property of the Principalities, Count Nesselrode again says, "The Imperial Cabinet has fulfilled it again to-day, and will fulfill it in the future, when, in common accord with all the Powers, it places the immunities of the Principalities under the formal sanction of the law of public right in Europe."

It is very clear from these statements that the condition of things which Russia is solicitous to bring under the domain of European public right, is not the Turkish sovereignty of the Principalities, ab-

solutely considered, but the Christian elements to be found in them in the shape of the "religious and civil immunities" of the "privileged *regime*," "of the engagements taken by the Porte in her quality of sovereign power," "of the immunities of the Principalities" secured in the past by treaties between Russia and the Sublime Porte (and so, not of general international importance), but now to be guaranteed "by the formal sanction of the law of public right in Europe." "The quality of sovereign power" exercised by Turkey, is to be respected in so far as it has agreed to a state of municipal direction, which Christian Europe will superintend and protect. In other words, Russia wishes to see the Principalities upheld by the public law, mainly in so far as they are Christian communities, incidentally only as Turkish provinces. She wishes that the germ of a Christian organization shall be brought directly and formally under the fostering superintendence of Christian Europe. This is a step in the right direction, and is as wide as possible from the manifesto of England and France at the beginning of the war, about sustaining "the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire." The civil and religious rights of the Christians of the principalities, and so, of the whole dominion of Turkey, acknowledged by the sultan, are, nevertheless to be supported and defended, not by the condescension of the Sublime Porte, but according to the Christian idea of those rights, by the international economy of Europe.

The Journal of St. Petersburg corroborates this view. That journal regarding the Western Powers as willing to extend over all Turkey the system recognized in the Principalities, says, "The fourth point, although not discussed at the conferences, appears to us morally settled. All the Powers are agreed between them on the necessity of placing freedom of worship and the amelioration of the condition of the Christian population in Turkey under the protection of an European act. All are equally animated by the desire to give to that act the forms required to place it in harmony with the just respect due to the sovereign authority of the sultan."

This act cannot proceed from the Christian Powers and from the sultan at the same time. It is to be naturally and entirely a Christian act; and the only "just respect due to the sovereign authority of the sultan" which it would involve, would be that consistent with a peremptory demand, which could not be opposed with impunity. It would only consent to receive the sultan's signature to a document which would be perfectly valid without it.

If the experiment can be tried, let it be; for every plan which diminishes the actual sovereignty of the Sublime Porte approximates to the solution of the Eastern question. But it is to be feared, notwithstanding the confidence expressed by the Journal of St. Petersburg, that this question, if it had been opened at the conference, would not be found morally settled. This view is very far from what England and France mean by admitting Turkey to

the European system, if the tone of the speeches in Parliament and the notes of French ministers are to be the means of knowledge. Such an European act is inconsistent with any system of Turkish sovereignty over the Christians of the East. Turkey herself would see it. The objection will come, if the plan be urged, from the Sublime Porte, or its representatives. And the conference at Vienna showed itself sufficiently abject in regarding the veto of the Turkish ambassador as a bar to discussion on the point of opening the Dardanelles. Still, let the measure be pressed, for it will form a basis of settlement; and imperfect as it is, it will at least forward the crisis when the question will be decided once for all, which must subsist, Turkish sovereignty or Christendom. Christianity has had its share of submission, one would think, in the past. It is hardly worth while to talk of the decline of the Ottoman empire, when the Sublime Porte is the only power in Europe that dares to exercise a veto, and that, too, not over its own councils, but over a conference of Russia, Austria, England, and France. The veto power is the highest attribute of personal sovereignty; and the cabinets of Europe respect it when used by the Turks, though they might protest against its municipal exercise by any Christian sovereign.

The proposition of Russia, as far as it goes, is in harmony with the Christian origin and sanction of the public law, which England and France wish to

degrade to the level of the municipal rule of the Turkish government. A question not discussed, even informally, at the Vienna conference, cannot be regarded as settled. The Western Powers felt apparently very little concern about the welfare of the Christians of the East. Their chief object was to diminish the power of Russia in the Black Sea. All the honors of Haman are of no value, so long as Mordecai sits at the king's gate.

It is understood that the tribunals of the Greek Church, so far as they can act freely, recognize and follow the civil law of the ancient empire. Here, then, in an important respect, has been maintained the traditional continuity, on which rests not merely theoretically, but practically, the right of the Christian elements of Turkey to receive the recognition and support of the general law of Christian States. The writer, as an American, viewing the Eastern question aside from local fears and jealousies, having the right and the will to speak for himself, yet making no claim to be an arbiter of international law, respectfully challenges the publicists of Europe to show cause why the code of Justinian, the basis of the present European system, although modified by civil and social changes, should not be recognized in the domain of the empire of Justinian, not only as the sovereign municipal law, to the exclusion of the Turkish system, but especially and pre-eminently as the true bond of affinity between the nucleus of Christian domination in the East, and

the States of Christendom. He also challenges these publicists to show cause, why Russia should be condemned and resisted by the armaments of Christian Powers for her efforts to incorporate the Christian elements of the East into the public law of Europe, as the main basis of international sanction ; and why England and France should claim the general support of Christendom for their efforts to incorporate the Mahometan elements of the East into that same public law as the main objects of European support.

If, however, the Journal of St. Petersburg is right in its constructive interpretation of the goodwill of the Western Powers towards the Christian institutions in the Ottoman empire, there is no reason why another conference should not be held, in which this plan of settlement should occupy the first place and receive the first attention. If no other result were obtained, it would be an ample reward for all the labors and difficulties endured, to consolidate the demands of Christendom upon the Sublime Porte ; for, until the Christian Powers say definitely what they desire to establish in the East, there can be nothing to aim at, nothing to reach. It will be something to gather up the threads of the Eastern question, if they cannot be woven at once into the fabric of peace.

That Russia has given credit to the Allies for a greater respect for Christianity than they feel, is confirmed by the speech of the Emperor Napoleon

before his legislative council, on the 2d of July. His Majesty, in speaking of the Vienna Conference, says, "We demanded, in the interests of humanity and of justice, the same guarantees for the Christians of every confession under the exclusive protection of the sultan."

This seems to be the very depth of humiliation to which a Christian country can be reduced, to recognize in any way the "exclusive protection of the sultan," as a part of the Christian system anywhere, especially when Christendom, after being insulted by Turks for a thousand years, has at last the power to demand rights, not to ask protection. Such words as those which the emperor of the French uses should burn upon his tongue as he speaks them. Is all Christendom in prison that a sovereign of France can speak so submissively of the Sublime Porte? Let His Imperial Majesty renounce Christianity, and accept the faith of Islam. Then he can enjoy the "exclusive protection of the sultan" to his heart's content; but let him not call upon the Christian people of his own dominion, or of the world, to consent that their brethren in the East should find their hopes of liberty all blasted, and themselves placed by Christian France and Christian England "under the exclusive protection of the sultan." This sentence of His Majesty's is anomalous and contradictory, worthy of the supporter and chief contriver of an anomalous and contradictory war. This "exclusive protection of the

sultan " is thoroughly irreconcilable with the rights of Christianity of every confession in the East, and with the "European act," under which Russia desires to place them. This imperial admission sustains the distinction between the relation of Russia and that of the Western Powers towards Christianity. It is right to accept the words of Louis Napoleon as the exposition of the Alliance, for he controls it and wields it at his pleasure. Who could have believed in 1815 that in 1855, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte would rule the foreign policy of England with a rod of iron?

The main scope of the "European act," which Russia demands, is to place the Christian people of the East, and their civil and religious rights, not under the "exclusive protection of the Sultan," but under the vigorous protection of Christian Europe; and if, into this plan enters any acknowledgment of Turkish sovereignty, it is only incidental and subordinate, not exclusive and predominate. Russia is willing that Turkey should be admitted to the domain of the law of nations, provided that the rights of the Christians of Turkey shall be the basis and the reason of that admission. England and France do not object to what privileges the Christians of the East may enjoy, provided that they enjoy them under the "exclusive protection of the Sultan." The ground taken at the beginning of this discussion is thus sustained in the most striking manner by the very latest and most authoritative exposition of

the objects of the Western Alliance. Russia desires to confirm by a positive and decisive act the relations of Christianity and the law of nations, as applied to Turkey ; England and France, from political jealousy, are willing that they should be as positively bewildered and confounded.

The joint protectorate formed by Russia is open to grave objections, and can only receive a qualified support, because it would place the Ottoman empire in a state of transition from a Turkish to a Christian dominion. It lacks every element of permanence. It is, of course, the best, the only way by which, with any shadow of justice, Turkish sovereignty could be even incidentally and partially upheld ; and if the division of the Ottoman empire cannot be immediately made (though the sooner the better), the plan of Russia is infinitely better than the present state of things. But how is this joint protectorate to be administered ? A mere compact between the Christian powers, for the regulation of the civil and religious immunities of the Christian subjects of the Sublime Porte, would be of no use, unless its execution were superintended, and if need be, enforced. How is this to be done ? The only efficient way would be by a legislative council, comprising representatives of the chief Christian powers, having the right to assemble and to legislate at Constantinople ; but this council must also have executive powers ; otherwise it will be no better than a joint note issuing from the cabinets of

Europe. How can it exercise executive rights in the presence of the sultan? If the Sublime Porte is to be compelled to accept as its own the decisions of the legislative councils of Christendom at Constantinople, where is its sovereignty? It might as well be resigned at once. Thus, the Russian plan, an improvement as it is on that of the Allies, will not work. The "European act" protecting the Christians, combined with any acknowledgment whatever of the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte, will only make "confusion worse confounded." The Ottoman empire must be made one Christian organization throughout, from the Imperial diadem to the humblest service, having, it may be, a cabinet representing the various interests of Christendom, or it must be divided and become integral parts of great Christian empires. To this end the Eastern question must come; and the sooner the issue is made the sooner it will be met. It becomes Russia to take the initiative in the declaration that the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte must no longer exist. Let her do this, and invite a Congress of the Christian Powers to debate on the new issue presented, and peace may be at last secured in the only desirable way; but at present the world sees the principles of the combatants too vaguely expressed to guide opinion and conduct. They should be so plainly avowed, as not to require logical subtlety to understand and expound.

To this Congress it is probable that America will

claim admission, both for herself and for Prussia, as neutral powers bound by no complications to abate the requisitions of Christendom. It is evident that Turkey should not be admitted to this Conference on terms of equality ; since for her to join in deliberations on her right of sovereignty would be like the defendant seating himself with the judges ; but she should be allowed the ablest advocacy which her own statesmen or the publicists of Europe can bring in her behalf. England and France have able men enough to turn logic to all sorts of uses ; and since some men as strong of mind and as cultivated in all branches of learning as can be found on earth have satisfied themselves about the duty of upholding Turkey, there would be no lack of men able and disposed to plead her cause. As to Austria the case is one of doubt, how she can claim or receive admission. The privilege might be granted,—if any Christian Power of good standing could be found, willing to be responsible for her good faith ; but as recent developments render this very uncertain, it is hard to see how she could claim a seat. Let there be an armistice of a year, the Allies keeping their position on the Sea of Azoff, that no advantage may be taken of their positions by a truce,—but let the allied armies retire from the Crimea to the Asiatic shore of the Black Sea. A new conference may develop unexpected solutions of difficulty. The Eastern question in its present stage, is one for reasons not for swords.

It is enough to shade with sorrow the faces of all the angels in Heaven, to see the sufferings endured by Christian armies in the Crimea, fighting for the enemies of Christ. Are not England and France satisfied with what they have already undergone, or will they yield only when every brave soldier in the Crimea has perished? Let them send new armies thither as fast as they can, yet in time even reinforcements must cease. What will England and France do then? The present may be the only time when the Western Powers can retire from their unholy attitude. It is said that a while ago a few English colonists, at the Cape of Good Hope, became Mahometans through the persuasion of some Malays. The English press called this an astounding fact. But if this perversion of unenlightened colonists was astounding, will the English press be so good as to describe properly the perversion of a Christian realm, if not to the belief of the Mahometan creed, at least to the support of the Mahometan Power? Which will be deemed the greater fault at that august tribunal, where the measure of justice is "to whom much is given, of him will much be required?"

The first gun discharged by Christian England in defence of Islam, sounded the knell of the Georgic dynasty. Repentance now may be too late. Victoria! Victoria! thy crown is not so sure that thou canst grieve that God by whose grace and providence thou hast received thy crown. Redeem

the time ! redeem the time ! or the cry will swell upon thine ear from the marshy graves of the Crimea, from the desolated homes of England,—Resign thy diadem, for no scepter desecrated to the service of Mahomet must rule the State or Church of England.

The upheaving of England has begun, and it will not be checked until her whole structure has been pervaded by the spirit of reform. An hereditary aristocracy ruling a mighty realm directly by the House of Lords, and indirectly by the House of Commons, while men may be pining in obscurity who could lift England to the highest point of prosperity and renown ; a throne so controlled by the nobility as to be a cipher so far as concerns the general interest and welfare of the people ; a church endowed with means to minister the gospel of grace to every soul on English ground, yet having starving curates and plethoric pluralists, disdaining her workers and fawning upon her drones,—a church that confers her highest gifts not on those who most faithfully have served their master's cause, but who can show the most illustrious ancestral tree,—a church in chains, which must meekly accept what a secular parliament may decide for her action, which must contract rather than expand her influences lest she do too much for England and the world ; a system of caste, pervading all forms of social life, and as contrary to the true idea of Christian manhood as the similar system among the Hindoos ; a constant

preference given by all orders of the state and of the church to the patents of man's nobility, over the armorial bearings of God's heraldry; the wealthiest realm on earth with systematic disdain locking the doors of knowledge against the poor, and keeping the people in ignorance for the sake of the pride of place and learning in a few; magnificent universities which should be the glory of Christendom, musty with prescription and redolent of port, endowed with means that should make the most accomplished band of scholars in the world, yet yielding the palm of patient acquisition to little German colleges, that could hardly fill an Oxford or Cambridge quadrangle; untold treasures lavished to sustain the fallen fortunes of nobility,—and scholars, discoverers, and inventors, languishing on royal pittance; a military title or a dazzling order a better passport to court than genius, learning, or devotion to humanity; children crawling through days and nights in dismal mines, that should be glowing with happy faces at school; churches built for the worship of God, shut against the poor unless they accept the boon of entrance as menials into the presence of Him who is no respecter of persons; coronets protecting sin, and miters stained with nepotism; prescription, favoritism, routine, everywhere usurping the place of merit, energy, and strength; wars lost by etiquette—men sacrificed by etiquette—disease, disaster, and ruin, assisted by etiquette—a nation at the point of death by prescription—a

throne almost gone, from worship of precedent—a church in danger of spiritual palsy; if such anomalies as those receive not immediate and vigorous correction, the empire of the British Isles may as well fold her wings at once and die upon her funeral pile. England has four needs, universal religion, universal education, universal suffrage, and a man moved by the spirit of the living God to press an unyeilding subsoil plowshare through all the civil and ecclesiastical abuses of the British empire. God grant that he may soon appear, or England is forever gone! The Augustan age of England will begin when Westminster Abbey shall see the coronation of an elected sovereign, whose diadem shall spread reviving light throughout the English realm.

There is a gleam of hope in the dark cloud that hangs over the policy of England. Whatever be the infatuation of her government, whatever the inconsistency of her statesmen and clergy, there is one feature in the rude face of the war which the friends and opponents of the course of England will equally admire,—it is the relief afforded by the daughters of England to the suffering and dying soldiers. All Europe and America have been entranced with the melodious miracles of the Queen of Song; yet the generous heart of the Swedish Nightingale would spontaneously join in the admiration of her English sister, who, if not able to wrap the spirit in Elysium by the power of song, has won the homage of a world by the “still, sad music of

humanity." All hope is not gone when a nation can present such spectacles of Christian charity. Yet is there something affecting beyond the power of tears in the thought that these devoted ones, as they minister to the last wants of their dying countrymen, bathing the gory brow and moistening the quivering lips, and receiving the last messages for those whose memory fills the glazing eyes of death, that they must point the departing soul for consolation to that Lord of Life, who, in his followers, has suffered wrong and injury on earth, in that very land where he himself fainted in the weary way and died upon the mount of woe,—but hardly a deeper wrong than now, when from his throne of Majesty he sees the chief realm that professes him, striving to keep His church in chains where it was founded first upon the Rock of Ages.

As the daughters of Judea were the first to know the glorious resurrection which was the seal of life to come, so may the daughters of Britain be the first to usher the resurrection of England from her Moslem grave! Then shall better counsels prevail and better deeds be done; until the Red Cross Banner, loyal to the Son of God, shall be borne aloft and onward over the mountains of Judea, until from the highest minarets of the Mosque of Omar it shall wave in triumph over the Holy Land, redeemed by England from Moslem rule, for the sake of Him who by his blood hath ransomed faithful souls.

Then the Church of England, the north star of

Christendom, which has spread guiding light over India's plains and Africa's shores, and New Zealand's bay of isles, shall see from her divine watch-tower united Christendom repairing with adoration to Jerusalem, the mother of their peace and joy, and shall see her glorious power extend from the banks of "silver-winding Thames" to those of Siloah's brook.

Then shall the children of Israel, dispersed in every land, look up and see their redemption drawing night beneath the banner of the Crucified, and the glories of the city of David about to be renewed and surpassed in the millennial empire of the Cross. As Saul, who consented to the death of the first martyr, Stephen, was dazzled in the way by the glory of the Messiah, and after receiving sight by the ministration of appointed hands proclaimed the faith which he had labored to destroy,—so shall the blindness of eighteen centuries be dissolved, and the sons and daughters of Judah kneeling before Christian altars, shall hear the gracious words of the anointed messengers of heaven, "Brethren of Israel, in the name of the ascended Lord of Glory, who prayed and died for you upon his cross of pain, be all your unbelief forgiven evermore. The blood of retribution is now the blood of ransom." Then, with hearts full of consoling pardon and also forgiving wrongs, they shall return from wanderings far and long to loved Judea's shrines of grace, to sing with Christians the songs of David, and to

adore David's son and Lord in Hebron's vale and on Zion's holy hill. Gather together, ye children of Israel, and return,—return to Jerusalem, for again it shall be the joy of the earth and the light of the world; but know, that its glory shall be Jesus of Nazareth, and the cross of his passion its crown of rejoicing.

Events are about to take place in the East more momentous than any that have occurred since the sun was darkened and the vail of the temple rent in twain. Hence this American protest against Christian support of Islam. Oxford! Oxford! awake from thy slumbers, and warn England of her doom, if she shall continue to pervert her consecrated energies; and show the sevenfold glories that wait to crown her faithful service to her Lord, if she shall strive to redeem the time during which the Ottoman empire has been the reproach of Christendom and the chief barrier to the unity of the Christian church.

In these last struggles between the powers of Christ and of Mahomet, Turkey will not be weak. She will be strong. Around the unholy standard of the Crescent will throng in those eastern valleys of decision, not only all the Paynim hosts, but also all the traitors and apostates of Christendom. The Cross will gain no easy victory over Moslem foes and Judas friends. The Cross will need the service of all faithful hearts. Civilization itself will be in danger; and the Cross alone can save it. There

will be no neutral fortresses to which to flee from the fiery tempest and the distress of nations, from the thunders and lightnings which are to precede the glory of a united church and a united world. All men, all nations, must take their side, for Christ or against him, and stand or fall, according as they prove faithful or faithless to the God of Hosts.

France, by her present position, not only violates her past history but repudiates in some essential points the policy of Napoleon the Great. France is repeating the errors of Napoleon, but diverging from the right paths which he kept as long as he held power. The influence of Napoleon the Great in strengthening civil and religious power, while defending and developing the individual rights and energies of men, is more clearly understood now than when it was in vogue to denounce every motive and act of Napoleon; whose excessive ambition and serious faults one may admit, while claiming that the good which he did and the seeds of greater good which he left to germinate cannot soon be measured by figures. The world needs another Napoleon, not the name, but the man; a spirit as vivid, informing, penetrating, irradiating as his, as inspiring to every heart, as impulsive to every hand, as determined, as capable to rule. France will never recede far from the attitude towards the Church of Rome taken by Napoleon, who, while invigorating Italian supineness with French energy

secured for France a degree of control, the value of which will be seen when the re-organization of the universal Church shall become alike requisite and possible.

Napoleon Bonaparte was true, notwithstanding his conquest of Italy, to the national confession of faith, which, being in Roman formularies, might not have been preferred by those who dissent from the Roman see, had the question been simply between Christian doctrines and organization, and not between the return of France to the Christianity which her legislators had renounced, and the continuance of the worship of the Goddess of Reason.

If France should recover the position which she held in the time of Napoleon the First, as a Roman Catholic state, some just hopes might be entertained, because French power, the most expansive and resolute of national sovereignties under the scepter of Rome, and ruling quite as much as it obeys, might ere long bring about a revolution in the Roman Church, which should end in a regenerated catholicity. Just fears may now prevail lest the allegiance of France to the Roman see shall lead her to place the supposed prerogatives of Rome above those of Christianity herself.

The Church of Rome must be a thousand fold more corrupt than her enemies have ever asserted, if her existence is threatened by the fall of the Ottoman empire. If this be so, there will be no tears to shed, if the scepter shall fall from Papal Rome as

soon as the Crescent falls from St. Sophia and the Mosque of Omar. If the Church of Rome cannot survive the revival of the Greek Church, let her surrender at once all claims to supremacy. France herself must fall, if she make a question of divided allegiance between her fealty to Christianity and her faithfulness to the Roman Church. If the Sublime Porte be a bulwark of the Papacy, then both, with their defenders, must fall together.

The false position of France, in this respect, has a recent and vivid illustration. Whatever may be thought of the conduct of France in destroying the Roman Republic of 1848, there can be no doubt that France herself, aside from motives of ambition, justified her course as being a defender of the Roman Church, as well against enemies at home as abroad. Grant that this plea was just. Why defend the Church of Rome from internal enemies, and forsake Christianity in her hour of need? When was Christianity assailed by a more terrible foe than the imposture of Mecca, domesticated at Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople? If France could justify herself for destroying the Roman Republic, professing to be Christian as fully as the French Republic, and retaining and sanctioning all the usages of the Roman Church, acknowledging the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, and ready to give all the immunities requisite to his action as the head of the Roman Church,—if France could destroy such a government for the sake of restoring His Holiness, a volun-

tary exile, to his temporal sovereignty, by what right dares France, in the face of Heaven and earth, to sustain by the same force which broke down the Roman Republic, that Moslem despotism in the East which has been wont to give written permissions to its Christian subjects to wear their heads one year from date ?

If France had just reason to fear that the Roman Republic, though at first upholding Christian institutions, would at last degenerate into an Italian reign of terror, avowing infidelity, there may have been a cause for her interference to restore the pope to the Quirinal ; for those who have little sympathy with the Roman belief will admit that civil order is a blessing, though cast in a mold for which they have no absolute preference, and that Rome herself, with all her sins and errors, is too venerable to be slain in the night by parricidal hands. If she is to die, let her expire by slow decay in the soft Italian twilight, with limbs decently composed, while those around hear her last sigh more in sorrow than in anger at the remembrance of her many faults, and pray for her departing soul ; but may she not die, but rather put off the dead body of corruption, and put on the mantle of light and truth, and being content to serve for the sake of Him who deserves the service of all, be for ages hence a glorious part of the universal church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing ! One may well ask, what was that brief reign of terror in France, superseded at last

by the imperial dominion,—what reign of terror could there be in Italy,—to be compared in atrocity with that reign of terror in the East, which has lasted not for a few weeks or months, but for eight hundred years? It was the glory of the first Napoleon that he broke up the infidel domination in France. It is the shame of the living Napoleon that he sustains an infidel domination, in lands over which the star in the East first arose to dispel the Pagan Night.

Revert a moment to England. If France herself is placed in a false position, as regards Christianity, by her special allegiance to the Church of Rome, England, not being in union with Rome, is free to sustain without any sign of treachery, the rights of the Christians of the East, whom it is her duty to conciliate and defend as dissenting with her from the decrees of the Vatican. The establishment of the English and Prussian mission at Jerusalem fully committed both governments to support the rights of Christianity in the East; and the protection already exercised by Russia should have made her the intimate ally of both countries, in whatever concerned the religious immunities of the Christians of the East.

If the Five Powers were to be divided, as regards the ascendancy of influences dependent on the standing or falling of the Ottoman empire, one would have expected to see England, Russia, and Prussia, united against Austria and France. That would have been the antagonism of the Greek Church and of Prussian and Anglican Catholicity, against the

pretensions of Rome, sustained by her two European champions. It would be sad indeed to see Christian nations arrayed against each other, even as the defenders of primitive Catholicity, against the supporters of the arrogance of Rome; but in such a Northern alliance, there would have been a progressive principle of action, whereas in the present Western alliance, the motive is retrograde. France and Austria if thus found sustaining Turkey, would be doing so, manifestly to uphold the Latin Supremacy; and England, Russia, and Prussia would be found sustaining the Eastern communions as new barriers against the assumption of the Vatican, and also their own representation of independent Catholicity. And this position would prove to the world that the only way in which the power of Rome in Christendom is to be overcome is by the vigorous maintenance of Catholic principles, in opposition to a Church which, so far as it claims supreme dominion on local grounds, is not Catholic, but partial.

This view leads us naturally to consider the ultimate significance of the fall of the Ottoman empire, which plainly is the restoration of the unity of the Christian Church, on the basis of early, uncorrupted faith. After deeper and deeper gloom, the Church has ever grown brighter and brighter. The long night of Ottoman rule, will be followed by the most benignant and majestic day of the Christian Church, since her elect and precious corner stone was laid in agony and blood. The Church has nothing to fear

from civil convulsions ; and since the true prosperity of Christian States is exactly measured by the life and glory of the Church, it is impolitic as well as impious to preserve the Ottoman empire lest its fall shall shake the globe, as no doubt it will. If the Eastern question were free of incidental interests, every Christian now on earth would see with joy the Crescent torn from every spot of hallowed soil. The rescue of Constantinople three centuries ago, and the revival of the Greek Church then, might have compelled the reformation of the abuses of Rome at the source, and the surrender of her unauthorized claims, and thus have prevented the need of the German separation. The dissensions of the East and the West being healed, and no occasion being given for the Northern Independence, the Church of Rome would have taken her place, as she will in the future, as a part of the Catholic Church, but not as her supreme guide and law giver. The Crusades, with the help of God, saved general Europe from the sway of Islam ; the final fall of the Crescent, with the same aid, will restore the complete unity of the Church as one harmonious organization.

Some persons, in love with historic unity, independent of extravagant claims, corrupt doctrines, and perverse administration, have regarded Luther and the reformation as a combined mistake. It may be conceded that the mighty Reformer, in battling with the corruptions of ages, handled too roughly some indestructible theories, and ingrafted some pri-

vate interpretations on the universal faith ; yet the step which he took, neither the world nor the Church will take back, for it settled this point forever, that the Church of Christ cannot be organized on the basis of the Roman Supremacy. Luther was right in his vehement protestations against the corrupt Roman administration, against her foul practices, her array of sins, and indulgences ; but he was wrong in not sustaining with equal force the theory of one holy undivided Church, pervading with celestial influences all forms and institutions, the guide and guardian of humanity, and the visible manifestation of Christ's presence on the earth,—a theory as inextinguishable as the sun.

It is worthy of record that at the very same Oxford, where men of noble hearts, amidst obloquy and reproach, have been patiently and industriously performing the most noble work done on earth for centuries, being reviled, blessing, being persecuted, suffering, being defamed, entreating, ever and in all places praying and striving for the restoration of pure Catholic unity,—at that same Oxford, a noble monument arises to martyrs of the English Church, as a pledge and a symbol of perpetual resistance to the assumed prerogatives of Rome, which, claiming to be the most ancient communion, challenges the allegiance of the Christian world, by the authority of the Council of Trent, held since the Reformation.

The chief communions of Christendom being duly

represented in the East, on the fall of the Ottoman empire, either by territorial jurisdiction, by the guaranties of international law, or by express stipulations of treaties, the way may be open for such mutual reformatations of doctrine and discipline, as shall permit the organic union of the Christian world in one spiritual commonwealth, a consummation which may God in grace and mercy speed ! Every church will find a greater reward than sacrifice in what she does with a grateful, loving heart, to unite the divided Household of Faith. To effect this end, for which all Christian men on earth should pray and strive, and which the principalities and powers of darkness, and their representatives on earth only oppose, Rome will be required to resign her claims of universal dominion, as incompatible with the rights of the other communions of Christendom. By the correction of her abuses, and by the surrender of her claims of supremacy, Rome will be stronger as a part of the reformed, united Church, than she is now, when her sovereign prerogatives are wholly denied in some of the most powerful states of Christendom, and coldly regarded and even seriously assaulted in some countries which nominally acknowledge her sway. In the re-organization of the Church, Rome must lose that sovereignty which she has for ages decreed and declared her exclusive right.

It now looks certain that England, France, Russia, and the United States of America, will soon control

the civil power of the globe. To these may be added Germany, if the German Empire shall be restored ; if not, there will be no Germany left when the boundaries of Europe shall next be fixed. And since, in this new German Empire, as has been shown, Prussia must have the ascendancy, if not the crown (for to win this prize, Prussia must instantly set about the work of German consolidation ; otherwise the crown of united Germany will be likely to fall to His Royal Highness Prince Albert, who now occupies a false position as regards his intellectual abilities, his German predilections, and the characteristics of the people of England), the predominance of ecclesiastical power will then be against the Church of Rome, which, no longer able to resist the organic unity of Christendom, will be compelled to cease opposing, if not to forward that result.

So long as the Eastern churches remain in bondage, so long as Germany remains discordant and divided, so long as the Church of England is but an insular establishment, so long as the United States of America stands studiously aloof from the greatest questions of the age, content to buy and sell and get gain, so long will Rome hold her sway. But when the churches of the East shall rise from the dust and put on their garments of beauty ; when, under the auspices of Prussia, Germany shall become a consolidated fortress of the united faith ; when the Church of England shall be not an aristocratic chapel of ease, but the religious home of all, at home or

abroad, who render allegiance to the British crown; when the United States of America shall be convinced that there is something worth living for, worth striving for, worth dying for as a Christian nation, besides California gold, Pacific railroads, Manifest Destiny, and Presidential elections; when the moral forces of Christendom that are separate from Rome shall center their forces,—Rome will be overcome by that very principle of unity which has enabled her so long to keep her scepter of dominion, and she will have nought else to do but to submit. But it must be repeated and enforced, and repeated until the truth is felt, that Rome is only to be conquered by Catholic principles.

Mention is made, not without reason, of the United States of America. The star of empire which has moved westward, will still advance until it shall again meet the East, and join in the imperial constellation that is yet to shine above Jerusalem. The Western Powers of Europe have been fondly deeming that it was their special province to dictate how the world shall be governed; how long the Ottoman empire shall endure; how long the Christian East shall be enslaved. There is one Western power which has not been consulted upon these questions; but that famous balance of power is a two-edged sword; if it shall be used against Christianity by Western Europe, it may be wielded for it, if need shall require, by the Western continent; especially if, beside the obligations of Christianity,

it shall be found that the same powers which are united to sustain an infidel despotism which has crushed the hopes of man in the East for centuries past, are united also to depress the Christian empire around which center the hopes of man in the West for centuries to come. If the United States shall have occasion to consider, as a practical question, how long she ought to see Christianity wounded in the house of her friends, there is no manner of doubt in which way she will decide. It must be repeated that the United States, which hitherto have gone hand in hand with England in founding Anglo-Saxon institutions, will relinquish the bond of race sooner than her duty,—and if England shall persist in a course opposed to Anglo-Saxon interests in the East, as well as to the general rights of Christianity, the United States will be compelled to step forward as the Anglo-Saxon champion of the Cross. Let Great Britain retrace her steps and stand forth as the defender of the faith,—then, if she be assaulted by powers in Europe, or in Asia, singly or combined, America will sustain her by moral force, and if need be by armed aid ; and they will stand or fall together. America favors Russia, because Russia sustains Christian ascendancy ; and she opposes the policy of England, because it was conceived in narrow jealousy of the laws of national growth, which she is ever ready to use for her own advancement and glory. England is most urgently entreated, by one who loves her as warmly as he loves his native

land to consider which she prefers, to take such ground as an Anglo-Saxon and Christian realm, as will not only invite but insure American sympathy and aid, or persist in her present road to ruin, and be eventually ground to powder between America and Russia, the West and the East, the upper and the nether millstones of the divine vengeance.

It is here proper to make some strictures upon the speech of Gen. Cass in the Senate of the United States, in February, 1855. This is certainly to be regarded as a Christian country, desiring to see Christian institutions everywhere established. Accordingly, any words spoken by public men in official places which may seem to compromise that character, demand severe animadversion. The honorable senator from Michigan so far forgot his responsibility as a Christian legislator, as to declare in the most august assemblage on the American continent, that "Turkey was the injured nation. Demands were made upon her absolutely revolting to the moral feelings of the world. An independent community, she was bullied by Russia; no other word will express the arrogant attempt. She was haughtily required to make concessions absolutely incompatible with her honor and her interest, with her position, indeed, among the sovereign states of the world."

That the demands of Russia were partial and not universal, and so, defective as a ground of gen-

eral Christian co-operation, has been already stated in these pages ; but they were Christian demands nevertheless, and so, deserving of respect. To the woven fabric of absurdities in the above-quoted sentence from the honorable senator's speech, it is to be replied that Turkey was not in that instance the injured nation, unless it is an injury to demand reparation for injuries inflicted. This delusive sympathy for the Turkish sovereignty, is outrageous. Turkey so far from being at any point of her history, now or in the past, an "injured nation," has been herself an injurious, malignant, and atrocious nation, for a period more than ten times as long as the independent existence of the United States. If the demands for the rights of the Christians who have been for that long time subjected to the most cruel outrages which Gen. Cass, or any one else, ever read in the pages of history,—if such demands are "absolutely revolting to the moral feelings of the world,"—then all moral distinctions have become chaotic, and are no longer a standard of Christian sentiment. If this were so, then infidelity, paganism, and the Koran, rule in all the world, not excepting the Senate of the United States, or, at least, the heart of the honorable senator from Michigan. That "independent community," as Gen. Cass calls Turkey, if she ever had any right to independence wrung it from the blood, tears, and dying shrieks of myriads upon myriads of people of that same faith,

which can be spoken of sometimes with respect even by Gen. Cass.

During the Greek revolution, Daniel Webster denounced Russia for standing aloof from the Greeks; but now, when she has come of a better mind, and has made demands upon Turkey which, if made thirty years ago, would have been received with acclamation even in the dignified halls of the Capitol,—now in the year 1855, an American senator, on the spot where rung the eloquent denunciations of Webster and Clay against Turkish tyranny,—a senator of the United States, stigmatizes a manly assertion of Christian rights as an “arrogant attempt,” and has spoken of the accursed dominion of the Turks, which ought to have been broken up, root and branch, hundreds of years ago, as being “bullied by Russia.” To call it the act of a bully to defend Christians against the wrongs inflicted by Turks, is like calling the shepherd a bully who keeps his flock from being devoured by wolves. When that consolidation of infamy and embodiment of horrors the Ottoman empire, is required to treat more justly her Christian subjects, whom the Moslem priests and a large proportion of the Moslem people would like to murder in open day, the favors,—yes! the favors, not intrinsic rights, although they are such rights,—sought in behalf of the most abused and insulted people on earth, are denounced by a member of the Senate of the United States as “con-

cessions absolutely incompatible with her (Turkey's) honor and her interest, with her position, indeed, among the sovereign states of the world." The question is not whether they are compatible or not with the honor and interest of Turkey, but whether they agree or not with the honor and interests of the Christian religion. As to the position of Turkey among the sovereign States of the world, that is the last thing to be considered; since it is the criminal reproach of Christendom that Turkey has held so long her position among the sovereign states of the world. The sovereignty of Turkey is the sovereignty of sin over holiness, of darkness over light, of the wolf over the lamb, of beast over beauty; and the sooner the infernal dominion ends the more honor will accrue to "the moral feelings" and the "sovereign states of the world;" and the sooner it ceases to be respected or upheld in the legislative councils of London or Paris, or by an American senator, the sooner will Christianity be free, where she has been for ten centuries as shackled as a galley-slave.

Gen. Cass is not satisfied with acknowledging the right of Turkey to a place among the sovereign states of the world, but he must speak of the Holy Land and of its sacred memorials in words that, coming from the lips of a Jew or of a Turk, would deserve just anger, but uttered by a Christian legislator are capable only of the most lamentable construction. Gen. Cass says, "As to the Russian claim of protec-

torate over the holy places, as they are called, that is, the doubtful sites of miracles long since passed, of empty sepulchers and dilapidated churches,—it is beneath contempt, not entitled to the smallest consideration. It was a demand, not for the purposes of religion, but of power ; not to guard Jerusalem from danger or oppression, but to exercise a controlling influence over ten millions of people—subjects of the Ottoman empire.”

The Russian claim of a protectorate as far as it went, and the chief fault to be found with it is that it was not broad enough to embrace all the Christian powers, was a manly vindication of Christian privileges on a soil insulted for ages by Islam. It is unworthy of any man to speak so contemptuously of the veneration of the Eastern world as Gen. Cass has done. “The sites of miracles long since passed” may be “doubtful ;” and the “sepulchers” may be “empty ;” but if the identity of places cannot be assured, the interest of Christian hearts is none the less tender and absorbing in the land that witnessed the mighty works of the King of Glory, from the miracle of joy in Cana of Galilee to the miracle of mercy on the bitter Cross ; and the place which held the Redeemer of man during the brief interval between death and glory, is no less endeared to Christian affection because the chief abode which Christ prefers is “the upright heart and pure.” It becomes not an American senator to speak of such hallowed associations with Pagan scorn, or to revile a Christian

emperor for feeling the incongruity of Moslem rule over such holy places. Nicholas has gone from earth; and his name will be embalmed in Russian history as that of one who sustained, faithfully unto death, the honor of the Greek Cross. Admit that the demand was one of power. Is it not time that the deadly rest of the East under the ignominy of Turkish domination should be restored to a state of energetic Christian development? See Turkey in Europe, see Turkey in Asia, see Egypt, see the most precious historical places on earth, laden with the memories of great events,—lying waste and despoiled. See “dilapidated churches,” which, under Christian rule, would be “dilapidated” no longer, but restored to their original form, beauty, and purpose, filled with kneeling worshipers and resounding with songs of adoration towards Him whose followers are now daily injured in the land where he himself bore patiently the crown of thorns. Whoever shall yet hold the Holy Land, the honor of taking the first step towards its restoration to Christian supremacy, will surround the memory of the late emperor of Russia with a halo of glory for ever.

But the honorable senator makes especial reference to Turkey in Europe as being the desired prize of Russian ambition, so far at least as regards a “controlling influence over ten millions of people—subjects of the Ottoman empire.”

Gen. Cass is the acknowledged champion of popular sovereignty. Will he have the goodness to

say by what right these "ten millions of people—subjects of the Ottoman empire" are not to be permitted, according to his theory, to say under which "controlling influence" they prefer to live, that of Russia or of Turkey? It is sufficiently evident that they look upon Russia as their deliverer from the political ascendancy of an infamous minority of two millions of Turks. Their sighs, their tears, their prayers, for generation after generation have been, that Russia may break their chains. Gen. Cass, who boldly contends for the rights of preference in the wilds of America, becomes as bold a defender of the right of the powers that be to hold millions of his brother Christians in chains on the banks of the Pruth and the Bosphorus. Whatever rights the two millions of Turks may have, the ten millions of Christians have a greater right, if they choose to exercise it, according to the democratic creed prevailing in America; and since they prefer to be controlled by Russia than by Turkey, any change which the war may bring in their condition from being Turkish to being Russian subjects, will be perfectly right and democratic in spirit and in form. The sovereignty of the Sublime Porte is counted for nothing. The Sublime Porte has no right to rule Christians anywhere, but the support of its authority over Turkey in Europe is an infamous absurdity in thought, word, and deed. And whatever "controlling influence" may gradually lead the way from greater and greater immunities for the Chris-

tians of Turkey in Europe to complete Christian sovereignty, deserves the earnest commendation of every Christian government, and of none more than that of the United States of America. The right of Christianity rests on a higher basis than popular sovereignty,—and ten thousand conquests by Turks, Pagans, and infidels, could not annul it in Turkey in Europe, the first place on the globe where that right to reign was acknowledged, and where sovereigns first honored Him as the King of kings at whose name every knee shall bow in heaven and on earth.

But descend to the level of political economy. In all her southern advances, Russia has touched desolation with the wand of energy, and it has brought forth fruit an hundred fold; she has made waste places bright and waving with ripened grain,—the plains and hills over which barbarous Tartars roved have been covered with the cottages, hamlets, and villas of Christian civilization,—“dilapidated churches” have been repaired, where the light of Christianity once kindled had gone out on the shores of the Euxine, and had been succeeded by the hateful fires of Mecca. The same things will be seen when Turkey in Europe shall be subject to her sway, and when its manifold resources commercial and industrial, intellectual and religious, shall be used by powerful hands in building up a colossal Christian dominion, whose seat shall be on the shore of the Golden Horn, where the pale shadow

of a fading empire now flits affrighted and conscience-stricken among the courts of the Seraglio.

If such results shall follow the claims of Russia in behalf of the Greek Church, even if "beneath contempt," in the view of a Christian senator, to Russia may well be applied the commendation in the parable, "Because thou hast been faithful in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities."

Is it an "arrogant attempt" to secure the rights of ten millions of people, who, with their fathers, have borne barbarities greater than the mind of man can conceive under the damnable despotism of the Turks? Or will it be "revolting to the moral feelings of the world" to see these Christians rescued from the rule of the Turks, and to see lands among the richest on earth, left untilled for centuries, brought under the hand of industry and skill,—lands whose fertility and beauty would move the heart of the devil himself, could he see them, to send a colony from perdition to sow and reap, rather than that they should remain for ever bare and forsaken,—lands, too, which as a matter of simple right, belong more justly to Christian energy than to Mahometan stagnation?

Gen. Cass in the next stage of his tirade against Russia speaks as follows, "The disclosure of the objects of the czar in his interviews with the British ambassador are among the most extraordinary developments that ever forced their way from a

royal cabinet to an indignant public. The pretense of piety in the protection of the Christian religion is abandoned in these confidential effusions, and the inheritance of the 'sick man' is avowed to be the object of Russian cupidity, and its proposed division among the great powers is held out as a proof of Russian wisdom and moderation. I know nothing more atrocious in the dark catalogue of diplomatic atrocities than this unprincipled scheme of partition."

There has never been any measure more outrageously calumniated than this proposition of Russia, to provide in season against the convulsions likely to occur upon the fall of Turkey, unless the chief Powers should understand themselves beforehand and work for a common object upon a common plan. Nicholas favored no demonstration whatever upon the then existing state of things in Turkey, so far as it was likely to promote a general war; but knowing, as every man in Europe and America knew, that the great problem of the East was casting its shadows upon the stage of events, and might at any moment be ushered in portentous presence, as likely by some internal convulsion in Turkey as in any other way, he manifested a provident intention respecting the future, which, so far from being in any sense "atrocious," was wise, honorable, and worthy of a great ruler, and the wisdom of which, now that the future has become the present, is attested by every mail, by every telegraphic dispatch from the East. What has the world seen within a year and a half? What

does it now see? It has seen half a million of men struck dead in bloody fields, in pestilential camps, in unyielding fortresses. It has seen expended millions of treasure, that were won by the hand of industry through thirty years of peace. It has seen peasants and patricians, Christians and Turks, laid in one common grave. It has seen homes in the four quarters of the world desolated by the saddest of calamities, the death of friends in war, where the hand of affection is not near to sooth, nor the eye of affection near to weep, nor the voice of affection near to speak of life to come. What are all these gigantic movements; these gathered armies, assaulting, retreating, dying, dead; these conferences assembled and broken up; these bombarding fleets and besieging forces; these upheavings of the nations which, though just begun, make the whole earth tremble,—what are they all, but the very events which, as far as human foresight could avail, the late emperor of Russia desired to prevent by a friendly understanding with the Powers most interested with himself in the fate of Turkey? It is not too much to say, that had these confidential propositions of Russia been accepted and acted upon with the same magnanimity with which they were conceived and made, the horrors of the Crimea would never have occurred; Russia would not have had to deplore the loss of her imperial martyr, Nicholas; and a decisive combination of the Christian Powers would have arranged with the Sublime Porte all matters of difference, and the protection of the Christians of every name; and

the Ottoman empire, instead of dying a sudden death, as it is now likely to do, and far more from the action of England and France than from that of Russia, would have continued slowly to decline, as it begun, until, by the lapse of time, quietly, and without bloodshed or disorder, Christianity would have assumed her ancient rights throughout the East. Turkey, if "a sick man," would have died a natural death; but England and France have so acted as to hasten his dissolution, to the peril of their own lives; and after he is dead, they will proceed to galvanize his corpse, out of respect for the balance of power.

As to the "pretense of piety" in these "confidential effusions," it must have escaped the attention of the honorable senator, who could speak on such a theme with unbecoming sarcasm, that in his conversations with the English ambassador at his court, the Emperor Nicholas made direct reference to the unhappy condition of the Christians of the East, and to the unsatisfactory way in which the subordinate agents of the Sublime Porte executed the guaranties obtained from the Sultan. If it be a "pretense of piety" to desire to protect efficiently the Christians of the East, may God forgive the Christian kings of the world for not having had more frequent "pretenses of piety" during the history of Turkish domination! Such pretenses might have prevented an aggregation of woes, surpassing, in length of time and severity, any thing else on earth. Such a "pretense of piety" it would more honor the senator of

Michigan to make and enforce than to ridicule and denounce.

England is suffering now, and she will repent in sackcloth and ashes, that she did not respond with something more decisive than words of civility to the confidential disclosures of Nicholas. In the light of these conferences, informal as they were, it is easy to see that Russia made overtures to England respecting a Russian-English alliance in the affairs of the East, which would have given stability to the English possessions, and would have secured an amicable settlement of all differences in the East, which, from the alienation now produced, it is to be feared will only be settled by blood. England saw Russia making towards her the most generous advances, to provide against subjects of future discord, and she met these advances with the policy of putting off the evil day; but, notwithstanding the postponement, the evil day has come, and the fear is, that, when it closes, the sun of English glory will set with it.

The partition of Turkey, there is reason to conclude, was not intended by the emperor of Russia immediately to be made, even if he is fairly presumed to have proposed to make it at any time. Certainly it was not to be made while there was any vitality in the Ottoman empire. Turkey, if a "sick man," was not to be slain; but, since he had such affinities as, in the case of his decease, would be sure to involve great nations in alarming complications, it is not easy to see why a plan for the civilization and Christianization of the East, to be

deliberated upon with time and patience, instead of lying exposed to the dangers of an immediate crisis, should be regarded as the most atrocious thing in the records of atrocity. The world and history will yet do entire justice to the Emperor Nicholas, for making a basis for the pacific settlement of questions which are now in the course of being settled by a terrible and protracted war. If in a year and a half, so many thousands have been sacrificed, and yet nothing effectual has been done,—and if, in this early stage, England has gone beyond her own borders for recruits, what is likely to be the end? As to the partition of Turkey, taken in connection with her actual state, will the senator from Michigan or any one else, have the goodness to say in what more just mode the rights of Christian sovereignty can be vindicated, and the wars between Christian states terminated now and avoided in future, than by the division of the Ottoman empire? As to admitting Turkey to the European system, that will only give her strength for evil; as a Mahometan empire, standing by herself, she is already gone.

The partition of Turkey, so denounced as an act of robbery, is the very opposite. It is an act of restitution. Turkey having unjustly acquired the territory of the Christian empire of the East, cannot be said to be robbed of that which she never had a right to hold. And why should it be deemed “atrocious” that she should be required to give up the spoils of Christendom, which she has been

allowed to keep so long, that she and her Christian friends have transformed forbearance and long-suffering into prescriptive right? The act of restitution, not originating with Turkey, is not for her meritorious; but it is not the less an act of restitution for being made by a little forcible persuasion. Had England entered at once into the plans of Russia, Turkey might have remained, by yielding the care of her Christian population to the Christian powers authorized to exercise it; but, England having declined through fool-hardiness any decisive course, and afterwards joining with France to sustain Turkey in any event, the fate of Turkey is no longer problematical. Her last hour has come.

The Emperor Nicholas could have entered eternity with no brighter laurel on his brow as a Christian sovereign, than that he engaged in war only as the last resort,—and after striving by the aid especially of England, to solve by peace the greatest problem of all the ages, which is now to be solved in figures of blood.

Gen. Cass fortifies his position by a homily on Russian despotism, apparently forgetting that Turkey is also despotic, and one as much worse than Russian as darkness is worse than light. The senator from Michigan finds very little to approve in the Russian system. "It is an unmitigated despotism both in principle and practice." Yet he desires to see Turkey sustained, the history of which since it was first founded in the East deserves the above description as justly, certainly, as Russia; and most

persons would regard that phrase as a mild and lenient definition of the Ottoman sovereignty. The almost universal power of life and death over political and social offenders, and rebels from the creed of Mahomet, the convenience of the bowstring in dismissing summarily from office, and incapacitating for future preferment obnoxious ministers of state, and in assisting out of the world rich subjects whose treasures were more useful to the state than their continued existence, the countless malignities of Turkish absolutism and the relentless modes of persecution and death, one would think would be quite as discordant with an American senator's views of constitutional liberty, as the organic law of the Russian empire. Russian absolutism is founded on her vastness of territory, her geographical isolation, and on the centralization requisite to bring such widely ramified resources into practical action. It would be utterly impossible for such races as compose the domain of Russia, to attain any measure of civilization unless brought forward by the resolute hand of despotic power; and Russian despotism is exerted for national advancement, and on the side of Christianity. Turkish despotism is entirely backward, and its essential spirit is enmity to Christianity and to all her institutions. Whatever may be said of despotism as a theory, the world at this moment sees in Russia an enthusiastic people, devoted to the throne and willing to sacrifice treasure and labor, ready to die for the glory of Russia. "Unmitigated despotism" has not been

inconsistent with an unquenchable zeal, a fervor of aspiration, a dignity of fortitude and an exultation of spirit in a holy war, which would have been rare to find in any country of far greater political freedom than Russia. In Turkey there is a despotism powerless for good, but vigorous for evil, which would gladly now exterminate her entire Christian population, if by so doing she could consolidate her political power, and which must feel secret complacency in seeing the deep red tide of Christian blood, that has been flowing through her history for ages, while she has slaughtered her way from Mecca to Constantinople, now mingled with the deep-red tide of Christian blood shed in her defense by Christian nations. Compare the vast numbers who have suffered death under Moslem tyranny with those who are now suffering death in her defense, and then say if in the records of time, any "unmitigated despotism" has ever demanded or received a more deadly and destructive tribute.

Gen. Cass refers to an act of the sultan's, in words which shall be quoted in full. "The course of the Moslem government with regard to the Hungarian and Polish exiles, commends itself to the respect of Christendom by its firmness and loyalty. Its unflinching defense of the rights of asylum to the political victims of a despotic union, seeking whom it might devour, and in the very face of two powerful empires thirsting for blood, is among the noblest examples of public honor and intrepidity to be found in Christian or in Pagan annals. Well

did the successor of Othman maintain the indomitable courage of his race. And, encamped only in Europe, as he is tauntingly said to be, he made himself the champion of that great code of national law which protects the weak against the powerful, whether marching under the banner of the Cross or of the Crescent."

This act so applauded, not only by Gen. Cass but by the general sentiment of America, was an act not of Turkey, but of the sultan. It was a despotic act, merciful to be sure, but none the less despotic, and consequently it cannot be justly taken as proof of the organic mercy of the Turkish system. Tiberius or Nero may have done good acts. The present sultan of Turkey is not personally a tyrant as those emperors were, but the principle is the same whoever may be taken as the despotic exemplar. The Moslem government as a cabinet, would probably have been persuaded by Austria to surrender Kossuth and his companions, unless he had insured their support by a change of creed; but the arbitrary, absolute, despotic will of the sultan saved him. Various as may be the opinions of Kossuth's political wisdom, there is but one opinion as to the magnanimity of his reply when it was hinted that his security might depend upon his renunciation of the Christian belief. "He could die, but he could not forsake his faith." It somewhat shakes the "unflinching defense of the rights of asylum," that it should have vacillated between hospitality and proselytism. However, the sultan vindicated his

personal honor by protecting Kossuth ; but it was a personal act,—it was a merciful, a generous act ; but it neither atones for nor explains the bloody history of the Ottoman empire, or founds a valid title for Turkish sovereignty. Gen. Cass censures despotism, “The Trajan of to-day may be succeeded by the Nero of to-morrow ; a wise man by a fool ; a virtuous man by a monster.” Very true, and quite as applicable to Turkey which Gen. Cass applauds, as to Russia which Gen. Cass denounces. The very successor of the present sultan might possibly, under similar circumstances, give up on demand political exiles, instead of protecting them. Certainly there is more than one of the sultan’s predecessors, who, on being required to send back political fugitives, would have replied, that so far from taking such trouble, he would be quite willing to do a good turn to a neighbor by inflicting summary chastisement himself ; and the bowstring or the sack might have saved the need of a long journey. Taking it all together, the attack on Russia and the defense of Turkey, the American senator has made rather a bewildered and quixotic attack on despotism in general. It is not logical to set the single act of a single sultan in opposition to the whole tenor of Turkish history, as a reason for sustaining Turkish nationality. It is not the present sultan who is on trial at the bar of Christendom, but the historic empire of the Turks,—a very obvious distinction, yet kept out of sight by those who answer to all arguments against the preservation of Turkey,

“The sultan protected Kossuth,” a fact which proves the sultan’s sympathy, but which has nothing to do with the Eastern question. The Saracens and Turks in Palestine were sometimes magnanimous; but for all that, their victories over the home of Christendom were to be deplored. There is not one of the Christian powers, unless it be Austria, that would not treat the sultan, on his abdication, with hospitality, generous and sincere; but abdicate he must, not only in his own name, but as the last of the Ottoman emperors. Christian kings have been compelled to resign their crowns; what greater right of perpetuity has a Moslem prince? Few persons will have failed to observe the similarity in character of the present sultan of Turkey to that of the last of the Moorish princes in Spain. In both are seen the same general amiability, occasional vigor of will, soon relapsing into an habitual lassitude and inefficiency. Both represent dominions, once powerful, then fading away and going to naught. Yet, though one may read with sorrow the misfortunes of the Moors, and may admire their fortitude and bravery, and may respect the tears with which they forsook the beautiful courts of the Alhambra, yet who would willingly see the tide of history turned back, and that glorious page torn from the annals of Spain, which records the expulsion of the Moors? Spain may yet have other occasions to illustrate her historic character in the defense of Christian territory. A poetical halo may hang even around the dying couch of the Ottoman empire;

but for all that, its fall may well be celebrated throughout the world in every Christian church by fervent thanksgiving. Never will the holy hymn "Te Deum laudamus" ascend to heaven on swifter wings of ecstasy than on the day which seals forever the doom of the Crescent.

Probably every government in Europe, even the most despotic, has refused to give up political fugitives, when they have solicited the personal protection of the sovereign. "The rights of asylum" have been honored in other places as well as in Turkey. It is usual at the close of revolutions to demand the restoration of political fugitives, and it is quite as usual to refuse such demands by every diplomatic contrivance. Kossuth himself, had he made himself master of Vienna, as at one time he might have done, and for his place in history ought to have done, he might have made a demand on the cabinet of England to send back Metternich, to be dealt with according to law. It is equally possible that Lord Palmerston, out of respect for the "rights of asylum," and out of still greater respect for the rights of titles, would have declined the request, and not very respectfully either. Yet, even constitutional, hospitable England has not always treated fallen fortunes kindly. Forty years ago, the greatest political genius of the age, raised to a throne by the enthusiastic suffrages of a whole people, was overcome by a hostile combination; and with a generous confidence, which should have been generously answered, he threw himself upon the protection of

England. "The rights of asylum" were exemplified in sending him to a barren rock in the ocean where he died, humanly speaking, long—long before his time. Yet one would not wish to see England utterly perish in consequence of that act of astounding perfidy. No more would one wish to see Turkey upheld for ages longer, because the terrible blackness of her crimes is here and there relieved by a gleam of magnanimity and compassion. If Napoleon Bonaparte had solicited the personal protection of Alexander of Russia, with the same manly confidence which he reposed in the Prince Regent of England, of detestable memory, he would have been treated with all the kindness which imperial sympathy could suggest; and the very same palaces of St. Petersburg which would have been destroyed, like those at Moscow, before he would have been permitted to enter them as a conqueror, would have been thrown wide open to receive with hospitable courtesy the fallen emperor.

Whether or not, as the senator from Michigan endeavors to prove, England and France intend, after humbling Russia, to apply the rod of correction to American shoulders, it would be magnanimous to uphold the Western Alliance, if in the right, leaving any references to ourselves to be settled at the proper time. If England and France are in the right, so far sustain them, however unjust they may be towards us; if Russia is in the wrong, denounce her, however well she may have treated us. This accords alike with political virtue and po-

litical wisdom. If Russia is wrong in principle, it is not right to wish her to conquer, in order to ward off danger from ourselves ; if England and France are right in principle as regards Turkey, it is wrong to wish to see them defeated, merely from fears of our own security. America can afford to sympathize with the right, on which side soever it may be, and let the future take care of itself. The writer, speaking for himself alone, must candidly say that when the cloud of war first gathered in the East, and before it broke, the course of Russia, so far as it went, appeared to be manifestly right, even to intuition and not to need discursive argument, and the cause of the Western powers to be as manifestly wrong in principle and in policy : every event thus far has confirmed these convictions ; and he rejoices to see that his countrymen are fast gaining, if they have not already gained, the sure ground upon the Eastern question ; but if he thought that England and France were right in their Eastern policy, he would scorn with the utmost loathing to excite popular prejudices against them merely from selfish grounds, as an honorable senator of the United States of America has not scrupled to do in his place in the Senate.

At any rate, whether America is in danger or not from Western Europe, there is ground for hope from the present aspect of things. Since our turn will not come until after the humiliation of Russia, reasonable time will be allowed to prepare for the assault. The castigation will not probably be

administered east and west at the same time. The severest pedagogue does not take in hand two unruly school-boys at the same moment; since our exemplary master at the Tuileries now has hold of a huge youth that gives him some trouble, and will be likely to tax all his strength as well as that of his subordinate assistant across the channel, before being reduced to submission, Young America may have a chance to grow stronger and stouter before being called up to the desk to receive the rod. It will be of no use for the young rogue to cry; for the imperial teacher at the Tuileries will follow the precept of the royal preacher of Jerusalem, and not spare for his crying. Yet it would surprise none who understand the spirit of the youngster, should he grow bold enough to quote Daniel Webster even to imperial ears, and to assure His Majesty that if he dares to touch him with one of his fingers "there will be blows to give as well as to take."

America, if compelled to enter the field of international conference or conflict, will do so as the champion of the organic rights of Christian civilization, and not as the upholder of infidelity in the church or in the state. She has other work to do than to scatter firebrands, arrows, and death, or to applaud those who scatter them. All hopes or fears of American propagation of her civil preferences by force of arms are utterly preposterous and illusory. They never have been—they never will be gratified. Just authority has nothing to fear from America; red republicanism has nothing to hope.

America, indeed, would rejoice to see such powerful aids of popular justice and of national security as a code of laws and a constitution established everywhere on earth ; but she has no wishes, hopes, or aims, inconsistent with the concentration and support of the interests of civilization and Christianity. Her European enemies seem to have regarded American rule as a sort of perpetual and organic French Revolution, whereas she holds the Reign of Terror in abhorrence, and honors—pre-eminently honors the memory of Napoleon Bonaparte for saving the civil and religious structure of France from annihilation. In whatever forms America may keep, in whatever changes she may make, she will vigorously maintain the principles of civil sovereignty in what modes she shall think best ; so far from objecting, she is eager that other nations should consolidate the elements of order, of social and intellectual culture, of Christianity, in ways most in accord with their historic character and national spirit. Certainly, now, when America cannot but see in her own domain the seeds of dangerous factions springing into alarming luxuriance, she would be foolhardy beyond the power of rebuke, to enter upon a course abroad at variance with the essential conditions of civil and religious authority. America is too anxiously considering what she may have to do herself to strengthen the institutions of order, to devise the ways and means of shaking them elsewhere ; and though in the case of England, she desires to see a thorough transformation in the

church and in the state, it is that they may both be saved and not destroyed. America is too deeply meditating exalted ideals, to think of engaging in political proselytism. America, so often denounced as the mother of disorder, will yet vindicate her power over internal anomalies, as boldly as she has resisted foreign aggression, even though among those anomalies shall be found liberty run mad, executive vacillation, or legislative treason. The same strength by which America molded into shape the first fruits of her independence will yet stay her wings for sublimer heights of dignity and power.

It is a legitimate question how far the American missionaries established in Turkey may claim the cognizance and protection of the United States, during whatever convulsions may arise as the Eastern question grows wider and wider, not merely as religious teachers, or as American citizens, but as representatives of a Christian nation residing on soil which has never lost its right to Christian rule. Turkey is a usurper on Christian dominions, and that simple fact settles the whole question of the right of Turkish sovereignty. The Sublime Porte has not been anything else, cannot be anything else should it last till doomsday, than a government *de facto*, liable at any moment to be supplanted by a government *de jure*; and such almost any one would be, whether springing from the Christians of Turkey or from forces abroad, which should place the scepter of Constantine in a Christian hand. There has never been a provisional government formed in any

country, however hastily, which was not founded on a better title than the Sublime Porte, at any period of its history. By the subjection of a Christian empire the Mahometan scepter invaded the law of nations, the foundation of which is the Christian religion; and, so far, Islam differs from those Pagan states which, never having made Paganism permanent on Christian soil, are bound by, and have a right to appeal to, as a common standard, those principles of natural religion, which having been adopted by the Christian faith, are a part also of international law. But the Ottoman empire having trampled on the law of nations, both as the law of nature and as the Christian rule of states, has lost her right of appeal to that code in the days of her decline. To say nothing of her previous history, Turkey, since the capture of Constantinople, has been, morally and in equity, an outlaw; and she now lies at the mercy of the Christian world, having but one right, to be treated humanely upon submission, and but one duty, to submit. Of course the obligations of Christian charity may far transcend the measure of the right of appeal, and it would call for devout rejoicing in heaven and earth, if the subjects of the Crescent, seeing Christendom at last aroused by the bitter memories of Moslem history, should sheath the sword, and surrender to that Cross which they have striven in vain to expel from the face of the earth.

Notwithstanding some important ecclesiastical discrepancies in the position of the American mis-

sionaries in Turkey, laboring on ground pre-occupied by Catholic Christianity, whose revival of organic life and diffusive beneficence should come from kindred sources,—yet, without doubt, they are earnest, self-denying, noble men, and, according to their measure, if not to the full proportion of faith, zealous in their Master's cause. They are doing a valuable work, the incidental disadvantages of which will be infinitely outweighed by the permanent good results. They deserve the prompt and efficient care of their government. Though their number were a thousand times greater than it is, they would only confirm, instead of shaking the foundations of Oriental Catholicity; and though their number were far less than it is, the influence of their Christian energy could not fail to be felt, in removing the rubbish of corruption which has so long been accumulated upon Oriental faith and discipline. The writer is compelled by candor to speak thus, though none can more painfully feel than he does, the departure of American Christianity, and of its organizations at home and abroad, from the paths of apostolic sanction. He is even constrained to believe that the American missionaries in Turkey themselves feel at times the disabilities of their position, and the want of the right keys to unlock Eastern hearts. Apostolic zeal can be no less fervent or successful in extending the Kingdom of Christ for being united with apostolic faith and apostolic order. This truth, the missionaries in Turkey and their supporters at home will yet see and acknowledge,—though they may

now deem it a hard saying. The writer, so far from wishing to see a single effort honestly meant for the good of man withheld, has no desires but for the greater extension of the means of usefulness of the Amercian Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; not only because of the essential Christian truth which they may spread, but for the fact that, considering the signs of the times, no institution is doing more than that, ignorantly and without design it may be, but still efficiently, in behalf of Catholic unity; and by Catholic unity, he means a visible Catholic unity. Invisibility is a very popular—but unreasonable excuse for schism. An invisible church is a chimera, a shadow, the ghost of an idea; and the idea is a ghost. An invisible church is a skulking coward which refuses to meet her enemies on an open field. Christ never founded an invisible church; his Church was meant to be like “a city that is set on a hill,” which “cannot be hid.”

The American missionaries, wherever they labor, are sowing seed, which, however sown, or by whom—ever sown, will be sure, sooner or later, to bring forth Catholic fruit. There is no more hopeful field of Catholic Christianity, of the Anglican model, than New England Congregationalism, the very groundwork of the organization which sustains and directs the missionary establishment in Turkey; and if even the Puritans are inquiring for the old paths, and if—as reflecting men, who can see the under current beneath the superficial tide, are convinced—there is more reason to fear of the Puritans journeying in a

crowd to Rome, than of their remaining much longer in the icy chains, which have bound them and their fathers for two hundred years,—one may feel sure, that the overpowering force of Catholic association, inwrought and ingrained into the Christian mind of the East, will vindicate its apostolic character, while magnanimously availing itself of all the helps to a revival of spiritual culture, which enlightened Christian benevolence of any kind may zealously render. It is to be hoped, by the way, that the disciples of Cotton Mather and of Jonathan Edwards, if they once take in hand the pilgrim's staff, will stop at least for refreshment this side of the Eternal City; though the fear is that they will go straight on, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, going by Geneva on the run, stopping not until the dome of St. Peter's gladdens their vision. They will do far more wisely to stay permanently at Oxford, the chief hope of Christendom in these days, though now for a time bewildered by anomalous policies of state.

The American Board deserve credit for one thing. They have stood their ground. Through evil report and good, through difficulties, dangers, and distresses, they have held fast their purpose, and have not imitated the pusillanimity of the American Episcopal Church, which, after putting her hand to the plow, turned back, and even recalled her faithful reapers from the waiting fields. When did any Christian church in any age inflict upon herself a greater stigma of reproach? Christian fellowship acknowledged and then disowned! Christian unity deliber-

ately betrayed! The claims to sympathy of suffering members of the household of faith set at naught! Laborers sent forth with apostolic blessing, and called back by the microscopical constructions of a Foreign Committee! An American Episcopate in the East, a legation of charity and beneficence, broken up by a cowardly Church, acting through the agency of a cowardly Foreign Committee! If such is intended to be the foreign policy of the American Episcopal Church, it will be well to read the burial-service over it at once, excluding the hopes of resurrection, since such a policy, once dead, should have no resurrection unto life, for it deserves eternal death. Perhaps the events now occurring in the East may burn into the heart, and burn into the conscience, and burn into the soul of the American Church the conviction of her error, until she remembers whence she is fallen, and repents and does her first works.

If the hopes of Christendom are to be disappointed now in deference to those imaginary quantities, the sovereign rights of Turkey, grief and humiliation will mark the future history of the Christian world. It cannot be that the black pall of diplomacy and expediency is about to cover the sun, just emerging above the waters of death, beneath which he has lain so long in gloom. It cannot be that Christian hearts can be blunt to every sense

of indignity ; that Christian eyes can look without sorrow on the sufferings, persecutions, and distresses endured for so many ages near the margin of Bethesda's pool, within hearing of the rippling sea of Galilee, beneath the trees, moving gently with the soft Judean air upon the Mount of Olives. The hour of redemption has come ! and if Christian nations strive to put it off, let them repent of their desertion, or suffer the penalty which Heaven may assign. And if other Christian nations think to satisfy conscience by offers of mediation, as though the question at issue were one of little moment, then let the curse of Almighty God rest upon every scheme of mediation, whether proposed by the United States of America or by any other power, which shall propose to settle the Eastern question upon the condition of the permanence of Mahometan sovereignty over the Christian empire of the East.

While Russia has arisen from her blameworthy supineness, and stands forth in an attitude of high resolve, worthy of the admiration of all ages, some Christian people, obeying one knows not what instincts, compare the Mahometan dominion to the injured lamb. A wonder in these latter days ! Progress has done its best ! There is at last a new thing under the sun ! The Ottoman empire is a lamb. Tell it not in Scio, for few are left to hear it ; whisper it not in Byzantium, for there it may be doubted. Let not the news reach Mecca, lest it wake the bloody prophet from his leaden shrine, to vindicate his tiger creed.

Thirty years ago, in mirthful play, that lamb slew tens of thousands of Christian Greeks in Scio's isle of beauty, and carried tens of thousands more away to worse than cruel servitude. See! a white cloud arises above that fair Ægean isle. Now it breaks into shadowy outlines of human forms. Dim, bending age and manly force, matronly grace and maiden bloom, childhood's beauty, all are there, with faces stern with unavailing courage, or pale with unavailing fear. Why point you with hands so slow and sad to Scio's rocks and fields below? A choral voice of sorrow stills the rippling of that classic sea, until one might hope that Homer's shade, if hovering near, were deaf as well as blind, that he might never know that havoc made upon his native isle:

On Scio grazed that Moslem lamb,
With teeth of sharp and bitter woe;
Dear Scio's vales that Moslem lamb
Made deep with tides of blood to flow.

That lamb tore all our vines away,
And trampled with too careless feet,
Until our eyes saw not the day,
And hoarsely seemed that lamb to bleat.

Our bodies on the bloody shore
Were cast in heaps, bereft of breath,
Until his carnage all was o'er;
And then, they filled deep pits of death.

The fairest isle in all this sea
That Moslem lamb made desolate,
We died; some in captivity
Bore fetters worse than death's red fate.

An answering sound of lamentation, the clank of fetters on the soul, is borne down the narrow strait from the broad Euxine, and with it comes a plaintive voice:

That lamb, that Moslem lamb—he tore
Us in our youth from Scio's isle,
No more to play upon its shore,
And see the glad Ægean smile.

That Moslem lamb, in cold despite
Of pleading shrieks to slay us there,
Brought us to this black home of night,
His slavery of shame to wear.

That Moslem lamb with crimson rain
Drenched Scio's homes of joy and light.
Would that we also had been slain,
Ere suffering here youth's saddest blight.

O thou sweet and injured lamb, that for ages hast grazed with impious teeth upon the pastures of Zion, and quenched thy thirst with Christian blood!—thou innocent and playful lamb! who that has heard of thy sportive joy in Scio's garden of delight, longs not to fold thee in his arms with soft caressing tenderness?

No! no! Turkish power is the wolf that has broken into the fold of Christ, and Christianity in the East is the suffering lamb. If now, by the

grace of God, help shall come, by which the lamb shall put on the strength of the lion, and expel the wolf that so long has sought his prey in the very Eden of Faith, let Jehovah's name be praised from the rising to the setting sun.

Thou, Good Shepherd, who gavest thy life for thy sheep! look from the bosom of triune compassion upon thy suffering flock. Terrified by the voice of the alien, they have wandered upon the dark mountains, and have partaken of the waters of death. But they know thy voice, and desire to follow thee, that thou mayst lead them by the still waters, and bear them in thy arms, and feed them with eternal life. They wait for thy coming in the land of their captivity. May they hear thy gracious words, saying to them, "I am the good Shepherd, and am known of mine. As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father; and I lay down my life for the sheep. And other sheep I have which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd."

So may it be, for thy name's sake, thou Good Shepherd, thou Lamb of God, Lion of the tribe of Judah, King of Kings, Lord of Lords! So, the fold of Judah, and the spiritual fold of Israel, the lambs of Christ's flock, shall be redeemed from bondage; and Christ in his triumphant kingdom shall reign by his church in Jerusalem, and all nations shall flow unto it.

If, then, war after so long a fast has begun in earnest to range and waste ; if the olive-branch is withered and dry, and no one knows how soon it shall again be green and blossom ; if the very globe begins to tremble with the tramp of mighty events,—let it be heeded well, that the wheels of time are concentric with the cycles of eternity, and that the globe is held by an infinite hand. The course of history, the tenor of interpretation, the laws of national growth and decline, have combined in the conviction, that the complete and final triumph of Christianity, and her acknowledgment by every sovereign power, would be preceded by greater convulsions than ever shook the world before ; that society, governments, laws, and policies, would be subjected to forces of which volcanoes, earthquake, and whirlwinds, are feeble symbols.

The time is near. The very lightning of heaven, trained to the service of man, summons the nations to the final valleys of decision. The world is hushed with expectancy. Beneath the usual business of life, the excitements of municipal policy, the narrow interests of the hour, an under-current of thought flows deep and still through the universal mind. Though far secluded from the siege of death, we see shadows of ill omen falling dark and large around the star of empire in our western sky. In both hemispheres fire enough slumbers to set the world in a blaze. The torch of the avenger glares with lurid light. Communities that have hitherto

stood aloof from great questions, now weigh events. The world was never so full of thinkers as now. The tone of the public press is deeper than ever before. The themes of the pulpit are urged with new significance. There is everywhere a deep conviction of the magnitude of the signs of the times, as though events were about to occur, which will affect the civil and religious organization of the globe for all coming time. The dawn of the day that shall consummate the hopes of ages begins to break upon the Eastern hills.

The ocean rolls heavily with the first swell of the rising tempest. The surges will continue to beat more and more fiercely, until that voice shall speak which the winds and waves of Galilee obeyed. Then the Ark of Faith, triumphant over all commotions, shall float on a crystal sea of divine beauty and peace, until it shall rest forever on the mount of God.

The black cloud in the East, on which men look with terror, will grow larger and blacker, until it shall cover the earth, and hem the horizon with gloom. The constellations will be hid. The sun will almost forget to shine.

Murmurs pervade the air like the low, deep whispers of tornadoes, before they rush bellowing upon the sea and land, to shiver the works of man. But the howling blast will yield to celestial melody; the black cloud will break and dissolve, and in its place will glow a serener sky than ever spanned the

earth before ; the stars will shine with new benignity ; the sun will gleam with brightness from the throne of light. All discordant voices will be attuned to harmony ; the fragrances of Eden will perfume the air ; unearthly glory will illumine the earth. Paradise, once lost, will be regained ; the heavens will be all glorious ; angelic ministries will diffuse love and peace ; earth will ascend to heaven, and heaven will descend to earth ; for so proclaim the voices of prophecy, resounding in deep, holy music through all the aisles of time. They will still resound, and the high inspired notes will ring clear, as the hand of fulfillment touches the keys of the great organ of history and providence, until they shall mingle with the rapturous acclaim of millions upon millions, and reverberate from mountain to mountain, from valley to valley ; and then they shall reach the choirs of bliss, whose glad anthems shall sound among the immortal arches of the temple above ; and angels in heaven and men on earth shall rejoice in harmony, until they meet in one glorified company in the presence of God.

The conflicts of the Cross, in other days,
Were waged to rescue, from the Moslem hands,
The tomb of Him who, from heaven's glorious rays,
By mercy drawn, was slain by Pagan bands.
But now creation waits His Church to see,
Reign by his strength, and by his grace infold
Herself with light, and wear triumphantly
Her seamless robe of purple and wrought gold.

As by the Star of Bethlehem the kings
Of the far East were led to the rude inn,
With gifts, for the infant Christ, of precious things,
Who was himself heaven's gift to men in sin ;
So, by that star—a sun now grown—shall go
The kings of farther West and East to bear
A crown, whose brightness through the world shall glow,
To adorn His church enthroned on Zion fair.
From the famed seven hills of Pagan Rome,
Whose eagles fled before the conquering Cross,
Where hath the Church, though erring, found a home,
And honored Mary to the Savior's loss,
His Church will be to that blest land transferred,
Where every hill and every vale make known
God manifest in His incarnate word,
From Bethel's sight to Calvary's rending groan.
Then on Mount Zion shall a temple rise,
Majestic far beyond St. Peter's shrine,
From which shall glow in Judah's holy skies.
The Cross of gold, the Son of Judah's sign.
Beneath that gorgeous dome shall praise ascend
And prayers, on wings of every Christian tongue ;
While zealous Pilgrims from afar shall wend,
To sing of Christ where royal David sung.
Thence in Jerusalem no more the sun
Shall darken sadly in the stricken noon ;
But through his course in growing beauty run,
And lend his glory to the Syrian moon.
That temple's veil shall ne'er be rent in twain,
As was the last, when nature shook with woe,
But firm shall stand the altar of Christ's reign,
Whence to all nations heavenly grace shall flow.
Imperial purple for the robe of scorn,
The golden scepter for the mocking reed,
Shall be exchanged ; and for each piercing thorn,
Beneath which once Christ's holy brow did bleed,
Shall be a jewel in the priceless crown
Of his victorious Church, whose mighty sway

Shall shake each idol and its temple down,
Quickly as night flees from the springing day.
No more shall angry crowds vindictive cry
To Pilate in the Jewish judgment hall,
“ Give us Barabbas, Jesus crucify ;”
But Christian throngs on knees of joy shall fall,
Saying devoutly in Jerusalem,
“ Glory to Christ, and honor without end ;
Worthy is Christ to wear his diadem.”
With these soft hymnings, here shall sweetly blend
The songs of seraphs round the throne above,
Till all the universe one voice shall fill
Of adoration,—of supernal love.
So, while the ages on shall swiftly glide,
The now sad city of the Crucified,
Shall be until gray Time himself has died,
The radiant city of the Glorified.



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